



VOL. XVII.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

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1904.

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CONTENTS.

The Holy Grail (<i>continued</i>). By GEORGE Y. WARDLE ...	1
The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius. By the Rev. S. BARING GOULD, M.A.	65
The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford. By E. ALFRED JONES (with Illustrations)	82
Peniarth M.S. 37, Fol. 61A-76B. Edited and Translated by the Rev. A. W. WADE-EVANS	129
Correspondence between Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Transcribed by EDWARD OWEN and translated by the Rev. G. HARTWELL- JONES, M.A.	164
REVIEWS :—Short Notices : <i>The Life and Work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury</i> , by the Ven. D. R. THOMAS, M.A., Archdeacon of Mont- gomery	186
<i>History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham</i> , by ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER ...	187
<i>Keltic Researches</i> , by E. W. B. NICHOLSON, M.A. ...	188
<i>Dwyfol Gân Dante</i> , gan DANIEL REES	190
<i>Gerald the Welshman</i> , by HENRY OWEN, D.C.L. (Oxon.)	190

Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XVII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

1903.

The Holy Grail.

PART III.—THE QUEST.

WE have seen that in the eighth century the Holy Lance and Cup were known in Britain as objects of reverence to Eastern Christians, and that the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in the same century, was translated into English, possibly by a monk of the Welsh marches. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some word of the relics guarded in the palace of the Emperor at Constantinople may have reached Britain, and that the Precious Blood was thus known to British Christians also, as one of the authentic heirlooms of the Church. De Borron's *Joseph*, the recognised "Early History" of the Grail, has preserved certain ancient ceremonies, fragments of a supposed ritual of the Grail. These ceremonies could only have been maintained openly in a country which, like Wales, had little communication with the rest of Christendom, and it is certainly from Wales that the characteristic features of the Grail stories come: names and genealogies, manners, church customs, and to a large extent the mythology also. We have thus a strong probability that the existence of the precious relics—the Spear, the Cup, and the Precious Blood—spoken

of everywhere, may have been known also in Wales, not long after the coming of Arculf to Hi. If so, the belief might easily have become, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, a belief in the relics as existing in *the very place* from which the news was brought—say Hi, or Mailros or Wedale. With no communications any longer by which to control local opinion the story of the Holy Lance and the Cup may have grown, as stories do, into a belief that those relics belonged to Britain, and were guarded in some secret place in the North, where first they were heard of. There would thus be created the conditions favourable to the production of a Grail legend; whether they were all that was needed, and did of themselves lead to an extension of the History of Joseph of Arimathea, to form the historic ground of the belief, may be doubted, though they do predispose us to look to Wales as the country where, if anywhere, the story of the Grail might have been formulated. Under the strong conviction that this relic had been brought to Britain, and was preserved somewhere in that Pictish country from which the Welsh had been separated by the fortune of war, a story such as that told by De Borron might readily have been imagined. It would naturally take the story of Joseph as its foundation, and would be fortified with whatever scraps of British history might be applicable, and it is possible that such a story did grow up during the time that Wales was living an almost independent existence. It is possible, but while this *may* have been going on *it is certain* that the other and more romantic half of the story, that of the Quest, must have had its origin there, and may even have preceded the “Early History” as a concrete statement. One of the unexpected discoveries in the development of the story of the Grail is that the second part of it, the “Quest of the Grail”, did not grow immediately out of the

loss of the Sacred Vessel supposed to have been brought to this country by Joseph and lodged in the castle of Corbenic, but that it had a quite independent origin, and only became a Quest of the Grail by attraction. This is a point of cardinal importance in considering the genesis of the story. The two parts, so far from being historically connected, as beginning and sequence, had in fact so little relation one to the other that, when the story of the Quest took shape, it is quite possible no suspicion existed that the Vessel had been lost. We have therefore to deal not with one continuous story but with two independent stories, which were drawn together by mutual attraction and became the strange and mystical legend of the Grail; and we have thus two separate origins to be kept in mind: one religious, born of the eager curiosity of Christians concerning relics of the Passion, the other an accidental prefiguration in a pagan story of the same Divine Mystery.

Of the origin of the belief which holds together both branches of the Grail story enough has been said in the first paper. The course of our enquiry has brought us to the consideration of the growth of the second part of the legend, and for this a veritable document will be the starting-point. We begin, then, with the Story of Peredur—a Welsh romance of unknown antiquity, which appears to contain the fruitful seed from which the idea of the Quest of the Grail was born, and which also, as the husk or envelope of the seed, gave to the Quest its first literary form. The story exists in two Welsh versions and in various translations.¹ We propose to make our abstract from Mr. Nutt's edition of the *Mabinogion*, but Mr. Joseph Loth's French translation, or the first English one of

¹ On these see Mr. Alfred Nutt's edition of the *Mabinogion*, 1902, the Notes.

Lady Charlotte Guest, may be used for reference. The whole story should be read. *Peredur, son of Eirawc*, is the title of the Welsh story:—

A boy destined to great events is brought up by his mother in retirement, the father having been slain. The boy goes to Arthur's Court and is recognised as son of his father by two dwarfs. He fights a knight whom all the household of Arthur were afraid to meet, and kills him—much as David did Goliath. He then departs, having been displeased by Kai, and comes to a castle by a lake.¹ The castellan was seated on a satin cushion watching his men fish; he was lame and grey-haired. He appears to have expected Peredur, whom he calls his nephew, and he set himself to teach the boy the handling of weapons. The first trials were with the cudgel, and they showed Peredur to be a born fighter. The uncle next proceeded to teach him good manners, and chiefly *that he ought never to exhibit surprise at anything, nor ask questions when things new and wonderful presented themselves*. Peredur left this uncle and came to the house of another, where his strength of arm was tested and also his obedience to the rules of conduct he had learnt. Two young men enter the hall carrying a lance of extraordinary length, from which three streams of blood fell to the ground. At this the whole household set up a great cry of lamentation, but the uncle said no word, and Peredur refrained from asking. When the wailing ceased two damsels entered bearing a large dish on which was a man's head swimming in blood. The wailing was renewed, but no explanation was given and Peredur maintained his impassivity. So far well, the skill and courage of the future hero have been tested, he has now to receive his supernatural arms. He next lodges in a castle which was periodically assaulted by the nine witches of *Caer Loyw* (Gloucester). He undertakes the defence of the castle and forces one of the witches to beg for mercy; she knew him, and predicted he would be the cause of disaster to her and her sisters, though destiny compelled them to furnish him with horse and arms and to teach him all that belonged to chivalry. Peredur spares her

¹ All that relates to Arthur's court, down to this point, is part of the story of the Red Knight or *Sir Percyvelle*, and is quite inconsistent with what is just going to be related.

and goes with the nine sisters to Gloucester, and there he received arms and was made perfect in the use of them. He then set out to return to the Court he had left, a raw lad, not long before. On the way he had the vision of the wounded bird on the snow, inevitable in Celtic romance, and thereupon fell into musing over the pink and white complexion and raven locks of "the Countess". This lady he had freed from a covetous knight who proposed to marry her as a short way of getting possession of her estates, an adventure in which the robber knight takes the place of the Monster in the story of Perseus. Peredur must needs now commit himself to one of the rash obligations of the courtly lover, and was bound by it to avoid the company of his fellow men until the vow was discharged. He had strange adventures in the desert, but he returned at last to Court and was freed from his oath. Restlessness drives him again to the desert, and he meets the "Black Oppressor", whom he overcomes, and from him he learns the whereabouts of the Adanc of the lake. He kills the Adanc by help of a stone, which made him invisible. The adventures which follow are those of the sun hero; many of them are found in the story of *Owen*; they belonged doubtless to the ordinary stock of the professional story-teller, and do not interest us, except as showing that this story is highly composite and may have been told in many ways. The interest of the story attaches to the Countess; it was she, apparently, who gave Peredur the magic stone which rendered him invisible. He does not appear to have recognised her, but that is nothing; he did not know her again at Constantinople, where he had engaged to meet her. At Constantinople she is Empress, but always she is "the fairest he had ever beheld".

They marry, and a long story might be supposed to end here. Possibly at one time it did so end, for nothing remains to tell:—Peredur has done all that the hero is ever supposed to do; he has triumphed over all opponents, abolished bad customs, and won the Princess. We are prepared to applaud, when our attention is demanded for a new set of incidents. Peredur had been taught to regard curiosity as a weakness, and to maintain an unmoved serenity in face of every event. That would have been

the correct demeanour at the time when this story may be supposed to have taken its first form; it belongs to the dignity of the high-bred savage everywhere. Suddenly he is asked to adopt a quite contrary standard of behaviour and to exchange impassiveness for curiosity. A new influence is at work, and, like the Sicambrian King, Peredur is constrained to burn all that he had been taught to adore. The influence in both cases was probably the same. We are not told how, after fourteen years of wedded life, Peredur found himself again at Caerleon, but there he is, sitting in hall with Owen, Gwalchmai and Howel, when—

to them comes a hideous hag who upbraids Peredur because “when he was at the Court of the Lame King he did not enquire the meaning of the streaming spear or of the other wonders,” and she goes on to say that, had he not failed in this “the King would have been restored to health and his dominions to peace.”¹ Peredur swears he will not rest until he know “the story and the meaning of the lance”. He sets forth therefore to find the castle of his uncle, and meets with adventures, some of which belong properly to the former part of the story, for the winning of the Empress is supposed to depend on them; they are of no importance to us now. He meets the loathly one once more, but this time in form of a young squire, who explains that it was he who had brought in the dish with the bleeding head,² and that it was the head of his own cousin slain by the witches of Gloucester,³ who had also maimed the King, and that Peredur was the one on whom devolved the punishment of the murderers. He does not say why he himself did not take up the quarrel; we are perhaps to understand that the days of private vendetta are past, for Peredur, finding the duty

¹ There is no suggestion in the earlier part of the story that the lame uncle was a king.

² The story says it was brought in by “two damsels”.

³ These witches and the slaying appear to be the same with those in the story of Saint Samson, *Book of Llandaff*.

thrust upon him, appeals to Arthur, and an expedition is organised against the witches. Peredur accompanies the King, but takes no part in the fighting until three of his companions have been killed before his eyes. He then attacks and the witches flee, crying "It is Peredur, by whom we are destined to be undone." They are all killed, and so the story ends once more,

or rather, is broken off—for the inconsequence of the second part abides with it throughout. Nothing follows of all that Peredur was exhorted to undertake; there is no bleeding lance nor maimed King, there is no *asking* therefore; everything for which the story was professedly extended has been forgotten, and instead of the healing and the pacification we have a fragment of a quite different story. No doubt the existing Welsh version is impure, such as it is, however, the early origin of the story is discernible—not Christian, and almost certainly Welsh or Romano-British. The form is conventionally Christian, but the substance is Pagan, with certain additions of incident and expression which mark a time of transition, or a conscious adaptation. The period of its history, marked by the introduction of the hag and her denunciation of Peredur's pagan manners, is probably that of the adaption of the story as a Grail romance.

With this story we must now compare those versions of the Quest of the Grail, which were published under the names of *Percival*, *li Contes del Graal*, *Parsifal*, *Percival le Gallois*, about the end of the twelfth century, and about the same time, not later, a more highly developed and mystical version, called the *Queste*. The earliest of all is the *Conte*, by Chrestien of Troyes; like the others it has Perceval for hero, but Gawain also plays a prominent part. The *Conte* follows *Peredur* most nearly,

—it begins exactly as does *Peredur* and brings us with few deviations to the house of the second uncle. It is here that the Grail appears, it is carried in the place of the

Bleeding Head by a damsel, attended by two squires bearing lights: after this damsel comes another holding a silver plate or dish, Perceval respects the advice of Gouemans (the first uncle), and asks no question; next day he meets with his cousin, a damsel, who calls him Caitiff, and upbraids him for not having asked concerning the *grail*, the *lance*, and the *dish*; had he but asked "the good king would have been made whole," and many other things would have been better. After this introduction of the Grail, the incidents again correspond with those of the *Peredur*, but the Empress does not appear, nor do the witches of Gloucester. Some new incidents are introduced, which seem to belong to the story of Gawain;¹ while relating these Chrestien suddenly stops. His continuator does not advance the story, but gives us various manifestations of the Grail, and some explanations, together with a crowd of incidents taken from other stories. Finally, under a third editor, comes the crowning of Perceval as king of the Grail Castle, where he reigns peacefully for seven years, after which he follows a hermit into the wilderness, and carries with him "Grail, Lance and Holy Dish." After serving the Lord for ten years more as hermit-king he dies, and the Grail is "doubtless carried up to Heaven, for since that day no man saw it, nor Lance, nor Dish." There is a fourth contributor to the *Conte*, Gerbert, who has very different sources of inspiration, and on one point differs materially, for whereas Manessier, the third editor, is disposed to asceticism, and prepares the way for the supreme chastity of Galahad, Gerbert obliges Perceval to marry, as a condition precedent to success; in this, following *Peredur* more closely.

Another Perceval, called sometimes the *Petit Saint Graal*, is known to us by one MS. only, which, from having belonged for a time to the library of M. Didot, has acquired the title of "the Didot Perceval".

It is a fully developed Grail romance, and has very little of the *Peredur* left but the procession scene. The tourna-

¹ There was undoubtedly a story in which Gawain was protagonist, and possibly one with Arthur as Questor, but Arthur's dignity of Emperor soon overshadowed his achievements as Knight.

ment at Constantinople, however, reappears in this *Perceval*,¹ it had been forgotten or neglected by the editors of the *Conte*, so capricious and unaccountable are the variations we meet with. As the result of the tournament, Perceval ought to have married the Empress, but this did not suit the extreme spirituality of this version, and Perceval is made to say that he was not permitted to marry. In lieu of the charming prologue or opening scene of the *Peredur*, we have in the *Didot Perceval* an introduction, which tells of the establishment of the Round Table by Arthur, on his coming to the throne. The Grail belongs to the Table; there is a Keeper of the Grail, called the Fisher King, "old and full of sickness," who waits to be relieved of his charge by a young Knight, a companion of the Table, who should ask "of what use is the Grail?" Thus the new conditions being fairly set forth at the outset, the inconsistency of the earlier adaptations is avoided, and an independent Grail romance produced. Perceval fails to ask at first, as tale-telling requires, but on the second occasion he overcomes his timidity and the solution follows; the old king tells him "the secret words", and resigns in his favour.

There is again the *High History*, printed by Potvin in the first volume of his edition of the *Conte*; it is also called *Perceval le Gallois*, a very poetical and highly mystical form of the story. It has been admirably translated by Dr. Sebastian Evans. There is another *Perceval*, *Sir Percyvelle of Galles*, an English romance of about A.D. 1440.² Though late, this may probably preserve for us a very early form of the *Peredur*. It has no training of the hero, and no testing. Having won the arms of the Red Knight, Percyvelle enters at once on his career, and there is consequently no scene of the bleeding lance, nothing on which to hang the Christian legend. *Sir Percyvelle* remains therefore a pagan story.

¹ See incident 15 in Mr. Nutt's analysis of the *Petit Saint Graal*, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*.

² In the *Thornton Romances*, edited for the Camden Society by Halliwell, 1884.

Now we come to the version which is known as the *Queste*. According to Nutt, p. 95,¹ this is of later date than the first part of the *Conte*, but not so late as Manessier's continuation, or Gerbert's; it must then be from a different source, for it is a much more developed Grail story. Chrestien may not have been the first to translate the Welsh or Breton romance of *Peredur*; the rival stories under the titles of *Perceval*, *Perceval le Gallois*, *Parsifal*, point to other forms not existing to-day, from which Wolfram and the writers whose names we do not know may have worked, but all these titles are presumably older than that of "Quest." When *Peredur* was sent back to the Castle of Wonders, he was not told where it might be; then the quest began, it was an accident of the amended or Christianised version of *Peredur*, and *not until the appendix to the story became the story itself*, would "Quest" become the proper title. The *Queste* is therefore, as we might have expected, a more advanced phase of the story. In the *Conte*, *Perceval* and *Gawain* and others set off to find the Grail, but it is for the sake of liberating a sorely-oppressed king, and restoring peace to his country; in the *Queste* the recovery of the wonder-working relic is the object of the journey. The "maimed king" remains certainly, but his cure is a secondary affair, a sort of by-product of the achievement, and the hero gets no reproaches on his account. The blame is now for *Lancelot* the sinful, "for that (having seen the Grail working wonders) he yet moved not, nor said never a word."

The revised story opens with a Round-table of the Grail, not a sacramental function, where everyone is filled with such food as he most desires, then the Grail disappears, and *Gawain* and the rest make a vow to seek it

¹ It is always to the *Studies* that reference is made.

for a year and a day. Galahad is the first to take the oath, but Gawain was first in proposing it.¹ Lancelot, though unworthy to achieve the Grail, is the first to arrive at Castle Corbenic; that much is allowed him as greatest knight. Then Galahad, Perceval and Bors come to the Castle. There is again a table of the Grail, but it is a Pontifical Mass, not a simple feeding of the multitude. Galahad heals the maimed king, not by asking a question, all that part of the story is gone, but by virtue of his royalty, and the three set sail in Solomon's ship, taking the Grail with them. They are cast into prison, and the Grail feeds them for a year. Galahad is then made king of the country; he fashions a tree of gold and precious stones² to overshadow the Grail, and prays before it morning and evening. There is a celebration by Joseph, at which Galahad is allowed to see the Grail, which has been veiled hitherto. He takes leave of Perceval and Bors and dies, and angels carry away his soul. A hand from heaven then takes the Vessel and the Lance, and no one has since dared to say he has seen the Grail, "except Gwalchmai (Gawain) once".

The development of our story is now complete; the *Queste* and *Peredur* are now two stories, though the *Conte* and *Peredur* move with nearly equal steps. A new motive is set up: the discovery of the sacred vessel. There is no quest in the first form of the *Peredur*, nor has it the vessel nor anything corresponding to it; these are the additions which Christianity has made.

Peredur is either a story of revenge or, eliminating the witches who do not seem to have belonged to the story originally, it is a collection of well-known adventures, less

¹ A recognition of the lead taken by Gawain in one group of these romances.

² A shrine in another version.

interesting in themselves than those of Owen and Geraint. Why the Grail should have attached itself to such a story is the question that interests us : why the highly mystical, devotional sentiment that inspired the search for the Grail should have chosen for its expression a romance of love adventures, of fighting, or of revenge ? The obvious answer is that it could not have been for any of these things that the Grail borrowed the form of this romance. Had there been nothing in the story of *Peredur*, but those ordinary characteristics of the heroic story, it would never have been annexed, for none of these things are permanent ; they were discarded as the new story got strength, until in the *Petit Saint Graal* and the *Queste*, nothing of the original *Peredur* is left but the one strange, inexplicable scene, which made the fortune of the story. This scene, which would never have had more than a passing interest so long as the career of *Peredur* was the subject of the story, is all for which the *Grail* is indebted to *Peredur*. Our enquiry into the origin of the second part of the Grail story begins, then, at the house of the second uncle, where the scene of the bleeding lance was presented.

Whether the ghastly head and the lance dropping blood were real things it is hard to say. They might be imagined as ancient trophies of the Celts—the spear of Cormac to wit, and the *Cenn Crúach* or bleeding-head, but for the wailing. If we assume that the wailing was invented when the story became one of vendetta, we bethink us that, so long as vengeance was incomplete, the head would more probably be found on a stake in front of the slayer's castle than in possession of the father. Perhaps the opinion of the learned Principal of Jesus College may be accepted ;—that the appearance was magical only, and intended to test the courage of the neophyte. Such testing of the candidate for the title of

“champion” was usual ; the two examples we are about to give are chosen because they also employ supernatural means.

Cuchullin contested with Conall and Laeghaire the title of prime champion of Erin. The test offered was that the candidates should allow their heads to be cut off on the promise that they would be made whole again on the morrow. Conall and Laeghaire withdrew, saying they did not trust in the rehabilitation. Cuchullin feared nothing, and by accepting the conditions was at once pronounced victor, the trial being really one of moral courage.

Sir Bors arrived at the Castle of the Grail, and was put into the haunted chamber, to go through the customary ordeal of the novice. He is assailed as he lies in bed by a “flaming spear”, which wounded him in the shoulder, possibly the same spear as that described as “streaming” with blood in the *Peredur*, it was certainly phantasmal, for he was able to defend himself in the succeeding trials, from attacks by an armed knight, a lion, a leopard, etc., none of which also, though terrible, were real.

Gawain had a like adventure at the Castle of Wonders.

If, then, we may regard this apparition of the bleeding spear and the head as a test of the hero’s firmness, it is obvious that the scene would not be repeated ; it had but a momentary use in the story, and having served its purpose, would be forgotten. Nothing could afterwards turn upon it. Why then, we ask, was a repetition of this scene contrived ? Let us recall the astonishment with which we saw *Peredur* brought back from Constantinople to be reproached for *not* having been affected by that procession, for *not* having asked what it meant. Such shameless inconsistency could never have been original ; it marks rather the forcible annexation of the story by strangers, indifferent to its meaning and careless of the unity of the composition. It is not accidental, and its purpose is not difficult to find. We can understand how startling to a Christian must have been the sight of that bleeding spear—

how naturally it would occur to a proselytizing clergy that this scene might be made an admirable expositor of the mystery of Calvary! It did become that, and it is reasonable to suppose that the conversion was intentional.

If we prefer to suppose a simple lapsing of the story—an unconscious taking on of Christian sentiment, how shall we explain the loud denial of all that the story had been accustomed to assert as right and becoming? That is not unconscious. To make the story Christian and useful for the propaganda two things were needed; the doctrine of indifference must be given up, and the spirit of enquiry encouraged. People must be taught to ask concerning the Grail—"whereof it served"? There was possibly another reason why the story should be lengthened, even by a contradiction, rather than adapted by degrees. It might have been impossible to make the required change in any other way; nothing is so difficult as to alter an accepted version. Moreover, the old story was needed to launch the new. The storyteller by lengthening, not modifying, had complete control of what was added, and he takes care to lead us at once towards the new interpretation of the "wonders".

What happened when Peredur arrived once more at the house of the second uncle the imperfect fourteenth century version does not tell, but something may perhaps be gleaned from the *Conte*. The *Conte*, it must be remembered, is the work of four contributors, and it may have taken thirty years to write. There are endless diversities, due partly to the corruption of a long tradition, partly to the fact that various tellings of the story are brought together in this long poem. In Chrestien the procession in the uncle's castle is with Grail, Lance and Holy Dish, and Manessier repeats this; the other contributors make the procession of Grail, Lance, and Sword. One of the incarnations of the hero was Gawain; he preceded Perceval,

and his adventures may have been more like those of the converted Peredur than are those of the later hero. We should expect a Gawain version to be less developed than the Perceval story.

Gawain, "who never failed in anything he undertook", arrived at his uncle's castle (Arthur's),¹ where he asks concerning the lance, the sword, and the bier (on which lay the Red Knight), but about the Grail he asks nothing, it was not yet classed among the wonders. It appeared and served the tables, supplying all needs without aid of "varlet or sergeant"; the recognised automatic seneschal of the castle, but not yet the Holy Grail. Gawaine was astonished, "*aidiés-me, sire Dieus*", but the five hundred guests who sat down saw nothing unusual. Only when the supper was over and the tables removed did the king, like the giant in another Welsh story, produce his marvels. Gawaine asks duly of the lance "why it bled", and was rewarded, but not fully. In the earlier version, possibly the cure of the dead knight, who lay on the bier, would have followed. This, however, is a Perceval version, and the most that is permitted to Gawain is to see the waste country blossom again—

"N'estoit pas plus que mienuis
Le Soir devant, que Dex avoit
Rendu issi com il devoit
As aiges (eaux) lor cors el país ;
Et tout le bos (bois), ce m'est avis,
Refurent en verdor trové.
Si tos com il ot demandé
Por coi (pourquoi) si sainnoit en l'anstier
La lance ;"

Conte, vv. 20,344-52.

which is precisely what Peredur set out to do. So much

¹ We must suppose the host to be Arthur, *N'avoit en la crestienté Si bel home ne si cortois.* Conte, vv. 20,105, *et seq.*

then we may think we have recovered. We see the converted Peredur asking about the lance, according to his vow, and we have the first sight of the Grail, not the Holy Grail, but the pagan one which supplies food to Arthur's Court.

Certain other possible survivals of an intermediate version, older than the *Conte*, later than *Peredur*, may be detected. We may presume that, when Peredur was sent back to the Castle to undergo the ordeal anew, under Christian direction, the adventures on the way would be of the nature of hindrances from the powers of darkness. The adventures of the *Mabinogion* version of *Peredur*, we have already remarked, do not belong to the after part of the story but to the earlier, or they belong to another ending quite different from that prefigured by the exordium of the loathly damsel.

In the *Conte*, Perceval comes to the river where he had first met the fisher king; he tries to cross but cannot, and a damsel offers to show him the ford; she leads him into deep water and would have drowned him but for a friendly chestnut tree to which he held until help came.¹ Manessier relates a similar attempt,² and again,³ where the Devil himself misleads the knight. Other hindrances of like kind were attempted, which need not be related particularly.

Among adventures of knight errantry, which may be referred to an early state of the story, is Gawain's delivery of the country from "enchantments",—the pallel of the killing of the witches by Peredur; but most interesting among these scraps of older versions is the possibly original ending of the vendetta form of the story. In the existing *Peredur*, the *malaise* of the old king is attributed to the machinations of the Sorceresses of Gloucester, with the intention probably of making the extinction of witchcraft in Britain

¹ vv. 22,365 *et seq.*

² vv. 40,564 *et seq.*

³ vv. 40,473 *et seq.*

symbolise the triumph of Christianity. Whether any good came to king or people by the slaughter of the witches, we are left to imagine, no word suggests the cure of the king, who sits placidly by the fire, tended by Gwalchmai. Manessier, in his ending of the *Conte*, gives what is probably the right version :—

The brother of the old king had been slain feloniously by Partinal. Perceval challenges the slayer and kills him, he cuts off his head and rides with it at his saddle bow into the Castle. As soon as the king learns the news, he springs from his bed *cured*.”

vv. 44,605, *et seq.*

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of this *dénouement*; it is thoroughly pagan, and it implies a state of civilisation far removed from that of the Courts of Flanders and Normandy in the twelfth century. Now, this ending, preserved for us by Manessier, belongs to a *Peredur* where was no “asking”, and no loathly damsel therefore, and no quest; to a downright tale of revenge for the death of father or kinsman. For this revenge the hero was chosen after a terrible ordeal, as Sinfiotli by Sigmund; and when the proper time came the cousin was sent, who told him of the murder, and the vengeance was swift.

Such, according to the indications, might have been the original *Peredur*, between which and the *Conte* more than one transitional version may have existed, though but one has survived. The transformation from Pagan to Christian was effected by lifting into primary importance the scene of the exposition of the lance, and by discovering for the lance itself a religious significance. That established, other holy relics connected with the Passion were added, and then the old story died away—the blood feud, the love of the Princess and even that first beautiful but Pagan opening; nothing remained of the original *Peredur*

but the one fruitful passage in which Christians had discovered the spear of Longinus.

It has been suggested that the scene of the spear is not original, that it is an interpolation of Christian date—that, in short, the spear was always the Holy Lance and nothing else. In support of this view the Thornton *Sir Percyvelle* is quoted—it has no such scene. *Peredur*, however, may be as reasonably derived from an archaic original as *Sir Percyvelle*. We have shown that tests, such as this remarkable scene would imply, are found in other mythical stories, and were part of the ordeal of candidates for the degree of “champion”, and we may add that the “watching of his arms” by the mediaeval aspirant for knighthood is a relic of the same system of probation. The postulant expected to be assailed during his vigil by the powers of evil, eager to prevent the enrolment of another champion of the right. It is every way probable that the scene in question belongs to a real *Peredur*. We may further assert that it is *not* Christian. Though the sight of the streaming spear would irresistibly bring to a Christian’s mind the thought of Calvary, it is unlikely that any Christian would have conceived that symbol as it appears in the tale; for the spear cannot be the lance of Longinus unless the blood is that of Christ. Now, no Christian could bear to see that blood running unheeded to the ground; the whole spirit of the story forbids that this precious blood should run to waste, and in the earliest Christian version we have, a cup is provided into which the blood dripped.

“Et puis si vit, en l’hanstier
Une lance forment sainier
Dedens une cope d’argent.”

vv. 21,052-4.

Christians of Britain, moreover, had the account of Arculf, which describes the spear as “shining like the sun”.

It is not likely then, though they might have accepted that very mystical image of the Saviour's mortal wound, that they would have invented it.

It is fair to ask—"Why any other origin should have been sought for this mysterious spear than the traditions of the country afforded?" Marvellous spears abound in the legendary stories of the Celts. There was the spear of Cormac mac Airt, which was called the "blood spotted". From Cormac it passed to Aengus, son of Corb, who killed with it one of the sons of Cormac, and since then it was known as "the Venomed". It belonged also to Cuchullin and, in his hands, would "draw blood from the wind". It was the same apparently with that the sons of Bieren won from the King of Persia or Pirris[?],¹ which flamed when in action and set fire to whatever it touched, it was called "the slaughterer", and in time of peace was kept in a butt of water. There seems to be no need to go outside Celtic story for "streaming spears", bleeding or flaming.

At the end then of this analysis of the story of Peredur, it seems as if we might safely refer the beginnings of the story to the Quest to the remarkable scene in *Peredur*, where this spear is exhibited among other wonders. The presentation before Christian audiences of a spear exuding blood which ran down in "streams" could not but have excited strong emotions of wonder and of reverence; for it would certainly appear to all that one spear only could be intended, namely, that which on the first Good Friday opened the fountain of eternal pardon for the world. With this idea established, the conversion of the story would follow inevitably—the mystery would be made the means of propaganda. That may be conceded, but how give a religious bias to a story of fightings and

¹ Hell, see ballad of *The Courteous Knight*.—Buchan.

love-adventure? What shall be the new motive? There was a great marvel, which became by conversion a mystery of the Faith; the hero could be taught to enquire concerning it, for "faith cometh by hearing", and occasion was thus given for the introduction of abstracts of the "Early History", which duly occur. This was material for a story, but was it enough? Could the interest be maintained by quotations, by the exposition of a symbol? Any devout Christian would have gladly made the journey to Palestine to see the very places where Christ's blessed feet had trod, the Sepulchre where He had lain; he would have gone far if he might be allowed to kiss but a fragment of the True Cross; but the bleeding spear was nothing, a figment in a story, an emblem—not the Precious Blood itself, but an image of it. The *reality* of the *sains sans précieux* was needed to give sufficient motive and actuality to the story, and the vessel which Joseph of Arimathea brought to Britain thus became a necessary part of it. It was this vessel, containing the reality of the thing signified, which supplanted in our story the original Grail, which Gawaine saw; it was more wonderful than the old, and was never presented except veiled. It sanctified the new table of Arthur, by taking to itself all the virtues of earlier talismans, and surpassing all by the ineffable awe of its Presence, and by the devotion which it inspired.

PART IV.—THE MATERIAL OF THE STORY.

The certainty that the story of the Quest was suggested by an incident in *Peredur*, and that the form of the story was also borrowed from the same Romance, is not proof of a Celtic origin of the Grail itself. In order to establish that, we should have to find in Celtic literature a vessel of blood, of great magical power, the dying legacy of some famous chief, or demi-god, to his people. This precisely does not exist, but the advocates of a purely Celtic origin of the Grail allege several not very obvious analogues of the great Christian relic, which, they say, by process of development under Christian influences, might have become what the Grail is in the romances, and they say very truly that many of the leading personages of the story belong to British history and mythology. Admitting that the material of the story is largely Celtic, there still remains the devotion of Christians to the Precious Blood, which was supposed to be contained in the Vessel. This central belief undoubtedly controlled all the development of the story and gave it that supremely mystical and religious tone which distinguishes it among romances. If the pagan material of the story sometimes re-acted, it never weakened the profound Christian sentiment, which first inspired the adaptors of a pagan symbol, and which made for them the fable of the Precious Blood a reality.

We propose in this paper to examine all the principal elements of the story of the Grail, to determine, if we may, their nationality, and which of them is really primitive and essential to the story, and which adventitious and ornamental only; and we take first the Grail itself. The attributes of the Grail were three :—1, the power of distributing food to many or few at any time; 2, the

power of healing; 3, the grace of spiritual consolation and freedom from temptation. Nourishment was its earliest attribution; Gawain was seated near the King in hall with other guests in great number,

“Lors vit parmi la sale aler
Le rice Gréal ki servoit
Et mist le pain à grant exploit
Partout devant les chevaliers.”

Conte, vv. 20,114-7.

“Bien orent des mès plus de dis;
En grans escuïeles d'argent
Moult furent servi ricement,
Saciés que moult s'emervilla
Messire Gauwains, esgarda
Le Graal ki si le servoit;
*Nul autre senescal n'i voit
Ne nul varlet ne nul serjant.*”

vv. 20,124-31.

This was the ordinary entertainment at the Castle, there was nothing sacramental in it. In respect of this function, therefore, the Grail may be compared to the *Mwys* of Gwyddno and the Caldron of the Dagda, both famous in Celtic mythology. The Caldron had been brought to Ireland by the godlike race (Tuatha) De Danann; it supplied food without stint to all, but while it gave enough it never gave more. The *Mwys* had the power of multiplying a hundredfold whatever food was placed in it. Neither of these can be regarded as primitive types of the Grail (if this was but a literary figment) because Christian tradition already possessed the story of the feeding of the multitude with five loaves and two small fishes, and that of the feeding of the Israelites in the Desert, besides other examples: that of the widow's cruse, and the sustenance of the Prophet for forty days (I Kings, xix, 8). Another famous caldron was that of Annwfn; used for the feasts of heroes, “it boils not a coward's food”. Arthur made

an expedition to Annwfn—Valhalla or Hades—to get possession of this Caldron.

The healing virtue of the Grail has been compared with that of the Caldron of Brân, in which, if a dead man were boiled he would come forth “as good a champion as before.” The Celts believed much in the revivifying power of baths and balsams:—Cuchullin, grievously wounded in his fight with Ferdia, was carried to the streams of Conaille-Muirthemne, supposed to have been medicated by the Tuatha De Danann, who threw into them “balsamic plants and herbs of health”; and there he was cured. Crimthan, King of Leinster, made a bath of the milk of one hundred and twenty white cows, in which he dipped the warriors slain during the day, and they were able to return to battle on the morrow. The hag, who brought to life again the enemies of Gornumant, used a potion or balsam,—“whereof Christ made use in the sepulchre”, says the curiously naïf adapter of an old story. This may be compared again with the story of Conal Gulban in Campbell’s *Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iii, and again, with the almost modern practice in remote parts of Ireland, where, says Wood-Martin,¹ cures are supposed to be made by anointing the patient with blood, or by bringing in contact with him something which has been smeared with blood. The healing of Fionn in the story of Maghach Colgar, and the tempering of Fionn’s sword,² are examples of similar uses of blood by the same people in ancient times. The Maimed King was cured by the blood of the Lance, not by the Grail, as if to show us in what atmosphere this part of the Grail story grew up. The Grail revived the dying Hector and Perceval *by its*

¹ *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 190.

² *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, by the Rev. J. G. Campbell, of Tiree. Argyllshire series, No. iv.

presence merely, in which it acted, as always, by its Divine nature.

The spiritual influence of the Grail has only one example in Celtic literature: the Head of Brân. The story of this Head is part of the *Mabinogi of Branwen*.¹

This tells how Brân made an expedition to Ireland (Hades) to rescue his sister—how he made a bridge of his own body across the river which always separates this world from the world of spirits, and so enabled his army to pass—how, his wars ended, he enjoined the remnant of that expedition to carry with them on their return his head, which, so long as it was present at their feasts, would supply them with all they needed. It would moreover keep them in good heart, and be a cheerful companion, “of as pleasant company as ever it had been when body and head were united.” The head was preserved for many years, and while it presided at their feasts, the companions were merry and united, taking no thought of the course of time. By the usual act of disobedience, or negligence, the charm was broken and desolation and misery followed.

Here is something that may be compared with the Grail and the Round Table: valiant comrades feasting, the table supplied with all that could be desired of food and drink; a happy, peaceful country, governed without fear, until a fool’s act reverses everything; “then were they ware of the loss of their King and their companions and of the misery that had befallen them.” It would be difficult to deduce the Precious Blood worshipped by Christians from the “Noble Head” which the followers of Brân carried about, but there is an intimate spiritual connexion, and we may at least say that the Grail would be

¹ Where Brân is called “Bran the Blessed” (Bendegeid)—an example of the many mixtures of pagan and Christian mythologies in these stories. Brân, the hero of the expedition to Ireland, was an ancient Celtic divinity; Bran the Blessed was the reputed father of Caradawe (Caratacus), sent prisoner with his son to Rome and “the first to bring Christianity to Britain.”

the more readily accepted, with its manifold properties of healing, refreshment and solace, in a country where the Head, the *Muys* and the various caldrons were part of the popular creed. With Grail and Lance were associated the Holy Dish or, in some versions, the Sword. Other trophies were sometimes added; in the *High History* the Crown of Thorns is guarded by King Fisherman, and in the *Conte*, Gawain asks about the Bier he had seen in hall, a dead knight stretched on it. The Dish was carried in the ostensions of the relics, but nothing seems to have required its presence, nor is anything said about it; it works no miracle, nor is anyone expected to ask "whereof it served". It may have been the Dish of the Last Supper, or the Paten of the Eucharist, which, in memory of what Joseph had done, was regarded as the emblem of the stone or lid of the sepulchre.¹

"La platine ki ens (the chalice) girra
Iert la pierre senefée
Qui fu deseur moi seelée
Quant on sepuchre n'ëus mis."

De Borron, vv. 910-13.

The sword is an intrusion among the trophies of Joseph of Arimathea; these were properly, Lance, Grail, and Holy Dish, all connected with the Passion. The sword belongs to the heroic story—to Perceval, to Galahad. When the Grail annexed *Peredur* a sword had to be found for the hero, Peredur himself being famous for his lance. It is, perhaps, an index of the time when the conversion was made that the sword was borrowed from Scandinavian romance; some famous swords there were in Celtic story, but that of Sigurd was preferred by the first shapers of the Grail romance. Arthur and Galahad were both

¹ The belief regarding the sepulchre was that it was a sarcophagus with a lid.

recognised as the predestined hero by their ability to take the sword from the Branstock, just as was Sigmund in the Norse tale. When Sigmund's sword broke in his last fight, the shards were religiously preserved for his son, and were welded again by Regin, the Scandinavian Hephaistos. This welding of the father's sword for the son, is reproduced in the *Conte* and other versions of the Quest, but in a very corrupt and foolish fashion. Strange stories are invented to account for the breaking:—it is broken knocking against the door of Paradise;—Goon Desert having been killed treacherously with his own sword, which broke at the instant, a knight was foretold who should rejoin the pieces and avenge the blow;—it was the sword which wounded Joseph of Arimathea in the thighs;—these and such-like inventions show that there was no clear understanding of the mystery. The breaking of the hero's sword when he dies is one of the accepted figures of ancient mythology:—

“Now whereas the battle had dured a while, there came a man into the fight clad in a blue cloak (Odin), and with a slouched hat on his head, one-eyed he was, and bare a bill in his hand; and he came against Sigmund the King, and have up his bill against him, and as Sigmund smote fiercely with his sword it fell upon the bill and burst asunder in the midst: thenceforth the slaughter and dismay turned to his side, for the good-hap of King Sigmund had departed from him, and his men fell fast about him; . . . and in this fight fell Sigmund the King.”¹

The Frenchmen knew nothing of this; they had heard something of a hero, whose heritage was a broken sword, but did not know the story rightly. Sigmund's sword, which Odin himself had set in the branstock for him, was

¹ William Morris, *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs*, 1870, p. 37. Compare the breaking of the sword of Balin, *also against a bill* (Malory, I, xi); further proof that the Scandinavian story was the original of this branch of the Grail legend.

preserved for Sigurd, his son, for "never bare any man better sword in hand"; though broken, it had not failed against human weapon or armour, but against fate, "nor will I suffer myself to be healed, *nor wills Odin that I should ever draw sword again*, since this my sword *and his* is broken". The shards of it therefore were more precious than a perfect weapon of human smithying, they would be reunited when the young hero was of age to handle it. The manner of reuniting the parts of the sword is meaningless in the Grail stories.

When Peredur was at the house of the second uncle, he was told to strike an iron staple with a sword given him, he did so and cut through the staple, but the sword broke. "Place the parts together", said the uncle, and they became one again, both sword and staple. A second time he struck and cut through the iron and broke the sword; and a third, but this time neither sword nor staple would reunite.

When Regni forged a sword for Sigurd, the lad smote it on to an anvil and the sword brake;

"so he cast down the brand, and bid Regni forge a better" and again it happened, and Sigurd said—"Art thou, may happen, a traitor and a liar like to those former kin of thine?" Therewith he went to his mother and asked if the two halves of the good sword Gram were not in her keeping, and she gave them, and Sigurd took them to Regni, and he made a sword with them, and Sigurd struck with it on the anvil, "and cleft it down to the stock thereof, and neither burst the sword nor brake it."

This is what the continuators of the Peredur story did not rightly know, howbeit some tale of a noble sword which had broken in two and been made whole again had come to them. The piecing of the sword by bringing together the two broken edges was made a test by which candidates were deemed worthy or not to achieve the Grail. The halves are offered to Gawain, to Sir Bors, to Perceval, and Galahad in turn. Perceval succeeds, before Galahad is

brought into the story, then, Galahad only can reunite the pieces, and Perceval is allowed to have *nearly* done it. What rubbish! Some traces of the older and rational version there are, however; Perceval, after breaking the sword against the gate of Paradise, meets with the smith who had forged it, and he makes it whole again (Gerbert); the name of the smith is Ttibuet (Manessier), Trebucet (Chrestien). The sword presented to Gawain to be mended is that of the Red Knight, and, fittingly, the death of the Knight, symbolised by the useless weapon, was the cause of great disaster—

“Li roiaumes de Logres¹ fu
Destrius est toute la contrée
Par le cop (coup) que fist ceste épée.”

Conte, vv. 20,288-90.

where the sword is supposed to have been used against its master, as was the sword of Fionn.

“Fionn died, and the whole Fian race suffered loss.”

This is the “dolourous stroke” which exercises the writers so strongly; it is not always given by a sword, nor is it the same person who suffers, nor is it, in short, better understood than the other parts of the same myth. The brother of the Grail King is slain by Partinal treacherously; Lambar is slain by Urlain with the sword of Solomon, “and that was the first blow struck with the sword in the kingdom of Logres, and there came from it such pestilence and destruction in the land of the two kingdoms that it was afterwards called the *Waste Land*”; King Pellem is wounded by Balin with the Lance of Longinus, which he found in the chamber where Joseph of Arimathea lay dead. As Balin rode away after giving that stroke he

¹ The Kingdom of Logres must be Britain before the coming of the Romans: the stroke is probably that given to Nemius by Cæsar. —*Geoff. of Monmouth*, iv, 3, 4.

saw that people lay dead on every side, and those who were yet alive cried, "O, Balin, thou hast caused great damage in these countries; for the dolourous stroke that thou gavest King Pellam three countries are destroyed". An echo this, perhaps, of the misfortune which befel Britain after the death of Nennius, killed by the sword of Cæsar—though it expresses the universal sense of desolation on the death of a hero.

The Grail Keeper, or Grail King, appears to have been called King after the annexation of the Arthurian Legend. The first keeper was Joseph of Arimathea, and from him the Grail passed to Brons—who married Joseph's sister. All succeeding Keepers had to show kinship with Joseph. Arthur is not named in the official list of keepers, ending with Galahad; which may be explained, perhaps, by distinguishing between keepers of the Grail = Precious Blood (Joseph's Grail), and the earlier pagan keepers. There was a Grail at Arthur's Court before Joseph landed; this was absorbed into the greater mystery of the Holy Grail, but Arthur's Grail was remembered, and when he became Christian Hero the Grail still visited his Court and, under a new sanction, fed the companions of the table.

The succession of Grail Kings was maintained by keeping up the original stock of Joseph, and the descent was through a daughter or sister of the last incumbent to grandson or nephew; just as the succession of abbots in a Celtic monastery was always from Founder's kin. De Borron did not understand this, and he was perhaps scandalised by the marriage of the Grail Keeper; he invented, therefore, for Brons, twelve sons, of whom one—Alain—refused to marry, and to him he decreed the succession. He could not maintain this, however, in face of the story itself and, very soon, Alain disappears and Brons, whom he prefers to call Hebron, as being biblical

we may suppose, is solemnly confirmed in the office, Alain's son [?] being named to the next vacancy. Alain! who "would be flayed alive rather than marry"!

The Fisher King, of whom so much is made, is an enigmatical person. Properly, the Grail has no need of a fisherman; a king or high priest having charge of the sacred relic is all the story requires. How the Grail Keeper became a fisherman it is difficult to say, unless a conjecture may be allowed. Nothing is certain in the Grail texts: they all appear to be repeating a phrase without meaning. Certainly the allusion is not intelligible when applied to the Grail Keeper as he is presented to us, nor does it grow legitimately out of the *Peredur*. The uncle of *Peredur* is not a fisherman. You cannot so call an old gentleman who sits on a satin cushion and watches his men "draw the water" to while away an afternoon; neither can Brons be called a fisherman because he cast a line into the water at the bidding of Joseph and drew out one fish. Absurd also to call him "rich" fisher because of that take. As the Grail story became more mystical, some belief that the Grail Keeper was the Pope might have been pretended, but it could not have been maintained in face of the genealogies—the Grail Keeper was necessarily married. It is possible that Gwydno, who owned a valuable salmon weir "between Dyvi and Aberystwyth", may have been identified with Gwiddno of the *Mwys*, and he again with the owner of the Grail.¹ None of these

¹ Compare, as to this supposition, Rhys, *The Arthurian Legend*. The true original of Brons, who catches a fish and is by that recognised as the appointed leader, is probably found in the story of Fionn:—A prophet had foretold that Fionn Mac Chumhail would come, and the sign would be that no trout should be caught in a certain river of Eirinn till Fionn should come. He came, and the trout was caught, and Black Arcan said, "Thou art the man!"—*Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iii, "How the Eén was set up."

derivations can be called convincing. There is another, not yet offered, it is believed, which does at least give us a genuine fisherman for prototype. All stories were pillaged for marvellous or romantic incidents to make up the story of the Grail. One very popular story in the Middle Ages was that of Œdipus, which, duly christianised, was known as that of "Pope Gregory the Great". The foster-father of the young hero in this version was a fisherman; the boy leaves him in due course to seek his fortune, he is carried in a boat to another country, where he undertakes to defend the castle of a lady, who is harassed by a neighbouring baron, just as in *Peredur*. The castle is also by the sea, in both stories. Here, then, we have a real fisherman as guardian of the hero, and, if we allow that this part of *Peredur* may have been adapted from the Gregory story—and there is nothing unlikely or unusual in such an adaptation—we have all the explanation we want. Is Gwydno, who owned the weir, ever called "fisherman" in Welsh literature?

The Maimed King is as unaccountable a personage as the Fisher-King, with whom he is sometimes confounded. He belongs properly to the Feud-Quest, not to the Grail at all, and was perhaps brought in by transfer from the vendetta solution of the *Peredur* saga. As a necessary personage in the vendetta story he should be not a "maimed" king, but a disabled—morally and socially disabled.¹ The king whose brother (*Conte*), son (*Peredur*), has been treacherously slain and is unable to avenge himself, is a very ancient story. It is not worked out to its proper ending in *Peredur*, but Manessier supplies the very dramatic solution: the old king, bereaved and

¹ A very curious instance of the social disability incurred by a man who failed to avenge the death of a kinsman, may be read in Le Grand d'Aussy, *La vie privée des Français*, vol. iii, p. 140, ed. 1782.

insulted, who has not dared to show his face to the world, learns that Perceval is riding to the castle with a man's head at his saddle-bow; he jumps to his feet and rushes out to embrace the avenger. There is nothing magical in the case, unless a strong revulsion of feeling may be likened in its effects to magic, and probably no magic was implied. The story, without suspicion of supernaturalism, may be found in a very early form in the Saga of Howard the Halt.¹ The *Conte* describes the return from grief to joy of the old king, in terms that apply very well to the dejection of Howard—lying for three years in his bed, ashamed to meet his neighbours in field or market—and his delight when the reproach was removed.

“Sire, à moult grant aise
Et est grand repos mis m'avés,
De çon que vous vengié m'avés
De celui k'ert mes anemis,
Qui m'avoit en grant dolor mis,
Mais or est tote ma tristesse
Et mes dious (deuil) torrés à léce.”

Conte, vv. 44,642-8.

As time went on, however, and the story became more marvellous, the grief of the old chieftain turned to a bodily hurt, to be cured only by supernatural means :—

The uncle who is called a fisherman was lame; the lameness was attributed to a wound in the ankle received in battle;

Grand St. Grail.

—to a spear thrust through both thighs; *Chrestien.*

—to a wound given by the broken sword which the Fisher King had incautiously handled; *Manessier.*

—to a spear thrust by invisible hands, because, having found the sword, King Pelles rashly drew it; *Queste.*

In the story of Balin le sauvage, King Pellam was wounded by the lance of Longinus; *Malory.*

¹ *The Saga Library*, Morris and Magnusson, vol. i.

And there are other surmises. The story of a king wounded through both thighs is that of Fionn:—

Fionn had an encounter with an Ogre called “the Face”, and in the end Fionn was set on a hot griddle until his legs were burnt to the hips, *a flesh stake was then thrust through both hams* and he was thrown aside. He managed, in this condition, to wind his horn, which Diarmid hears: he is freed, and then Diarmid *heals him with a balsam* found in possession of the Face.

There is also the wounding which cannot be healed:—

Garry, a sly traitor, is allowed to chose the death he would die; he asks that he may have his head taken off on Fionn's knee with the famous sword Mac-a-Luin. Fionn cannot refuse, but seven greyhides, seven faggots, and seven feet of peaty soil were laid on his thighs before the traitor's head bent over them; then Oscar wielded the terrible sword,

“And quicker than dew upon a daisy
Were heads of arteries cut in Fionn's knee.”¹

The hero died, though magic bath and balsam were at his command; like Sigmund he recognised the fatal stroke and refused all medicament. A later version, however, sends Fionn to Rome to be healed. A strong argument for believing that Fionn may have been the model of the Roi Mehaignié in later versions of the Quest, is found in the otherwise inexplicable fact that this maimed king lay for months and years helpless and sick in presence of the Grail. The Grail healed all who came within its influence; Perceval and Hector after their fight, Lancelot when he had lost his wits, and the wounded knight whom Lancelot saw borne on a horse litter to the chapel of the Grail. To votaries of the Grail in especial its protection was in all ways assured—

¹ *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition.* The Rev. T. G. Campbell of Tiree, Argyllshire Series, No. iv, p. 168.

“ Leur heritages garderei
 En toutes courz leur eiderai
 Ne pourrunt estre forjugié
 Ne de leur membres mehaignié.”

De Borron, v. 3052.

The absurdity of the Grail Keeper himself lying sick when both Grail and Lance were in his keeping can only be explained by the tyranny of the tradition, and the blunder which made Grail King and Maimed King the same person. What was the proper ending of the Maimed King's disability we have seen; he should embrace his deliverer and be restored to the enjoyment of his honour and his health. The Grail King, on the other hand, was bound to make way for his successor; and must necessarily die when the hero is found who will take his place.

Manessier kills him, and the Berne MS. also, “on third day”; the *Queste* sends him, very inconsiderately, into a convent of White Monks, a degradation in those days for a Roi Fainéant; only the *Petit St. Graal* knows what is becoming:—As Arthur was carried away by Queens to Faëry, so the Grail King could only be carried to Heaven by Angels; there was no other possible ending. The Grail King at the time of his translation was old, his successor being his grandson, son of his daughter, or sister's son; in either case following the Celtic or possibly Pictish rule of succession. Before dying he communicates to his successor the “secret words”.

There is a scene which suggests that the awkward combination of Maimed King with Grail Keeper was not at one time intended, or that having so befallen a way out it was being made. The *Queste* tells how Perceval coming to the Minster of Glays, at time of high Mass, sees a bed placed near the altar and on it an old man crowned, his body full of wounds. This was Evelach, the first convert,

who desired, like Simeon, to see “the good Knight”¹ before singing his *Nunc Dimittis*. He was much comforted when he heard that Perceval was in the abbey. (The *Queste* is a Galahad romance, and Perceval must be content with a *succès d’estime*.) Galahad then comes and embraces the aged King, and lo—“his flesh which was of dead oldness became young again”, and so his soul departed from his body and Galahad buried him; a very beautiful and legitimate fancy, and a more becoming version of the rôle of Maimed King than those others, which are but unintelligent revivals of a pagan story, utterly at variance with the religious motive of the Grail legend.

A more consistent and important personage in the story than either Roi Mehaignié or Fisher King is the Red Knight,² who, in comparison with them, has wonderfully escaped comment. The first appearance of the Red Knight is in *Peredur*. After killing the Adauc of the Lake, Peredur is joined by a knight in red armour, riding on a red horse, who calls himself Etlym of the red sword (*Gledyr Coch*) and “an earl of the East Country”. Peredur and Etlym ride together, and Peredur obtained for Etlym the hand of the Countess of the Achievements, which by right should have fallen to himself. He thus plays the part of paranymp for his comrade,³ and we have the

¹ Evelach looked as if he might be three hundred winters old, according to Malory, four hundred according to the *Queste*.

² The adventures of the Red Knight are found repeated in endless variety through the story and under many metamorphoses of the actors.

³ In the Irish story Cuchullin gave the daughter of the King of the Isles (Hades?) to his friend Lugaid of the Red Stripes, to be his wife, though he had won her for himself by delivering her from the Fomori; and Conall Gulban gave the daughter of the King of Lochlann to the Avas Ormanach, with whom he had just made a treaty of peace.

ordinary opening of a sun myth. The ending is found in the story of Gawain:—

It is evening, and the Red Knight is pressing to his journey's end, when he is treacherously slain in Gawain's company (*Conte*, 19,664). Gawain dons the knight's armour and rides on his horse, letting the steed take its own course; he finds the Red Knight laid on a bier in the hall of the Grail King, his broken sword by his side (there had been no fighting, but the sword of the sun-god is shattered at his death)—Gawain enquires what it may mean, but does not learn. The last scene is at Caerleon—Arthur cannot sleep, he goes down to the shore and sees a boat approaching, it carries a light and is drawn by a swan,¹ in it is the Red Knight on his bier; there is a letter on the bier addressed to Arthur, who, after reading it has the bier carried to the hall, where it remained until vengeance had been done, then the boat returned, and the Knight was carried to the *Illes de la mer*.

The murderer is killed by a wound in the eye, as the Red Knight had been, but who he was or how discovered we are not told. The scenes at Caerleon—in the hall of the Grail King and on the sea shore—are entangled and imperfect; the story may however be understood by referring to the naked myth: the perpetual death and resurrection of the sun-god. As he is feloniously slain at even, so the slayer must be killed at morn.² The new hero, the “identical successor” of the old, then assumes his father's arms and armour, and a new career is begun, which is just the old one repeated. Hence the frequent repetitions in the story and the apparent confusions; we

¹ The bird which had its home no one knew where, in the country beyond man's habitation.

² Sir Percyvelle kills the false Red Knight with a dart, a mere splinter of wood hardened in the fire, it entered by the eye; this is mythologically right, cf. the story of Balor. Another form of poetical justice is that of killing the traitor with the very weapon he used. Balin strikes him down first with his sword and then transfixes him with the truncheon of the spear wherewith the Red Knight had been slain. *Malory*, I, xxxix.

have father and son of same name, and also a *parhelion*, the otherself of the hero. This last is very often a brother in the stories, and is killed by his brother.¹ The treacherous slayings, the impersonation (so fruitful an incident in the story of Gawain), the vengeance, all have their origin in the daily life of the sun-god.

The Grail Castle. The hiding-place of the precious relic was very properly imagined as standing in a waste country, a forest or a foreign land—in the country no longer occupied by Britons. It was so securely hidden that you might pass it closely without seeing it, and it comes into view suddenly; like the monastery of Blanchland, near the Scottish border, which was sought through a whole summer's day by raiders and would never have been found had they not been led to it at last by the music of its bells sounding a peal of joy for its deliverance. A sort of will-o'-the-wisp light floated over the castle which shone with equal power whether near or far, so that no one could be quite certain whether he was approaching it or not. The castle was built by Joseph of Arimathea (*Conte*, 35,131) as a perpetual abiding-place for the Grail. As a *castle*, it could not have been earlier in date than the towers of London or Rochester, but this is the romantic form given by the twelfth century writers; a religious house enclosed by a rath or circular fort, such as the missionaries were often permitted to occupy, would have been more in accordance with the antiquity of the legend. The first appearance of the castle in the romance of the Quest is probably found in the story of Balin; it appears there to have been an enclosed manor

¹ Duplication of the same person also comes about in another way; the stories having been told everywhere, when they were collected were seen to be the same and not the same, and were repeated in each form, hence we have two Iseults, two Elaines, two Merlins, etc.

house, having hall and detached residences, bowers, offices, etc. Balin ran from one to another of these until he came to the chamber where Joseph was lying dead on a marvellous rich bed, near to which, on an altar, was the Holy Lance. Balin attacked the Castellan, King Pellam, with this, and smote him with it passing sore (Roi Mehaignié). The castle was rent by the horror of this blow, even as the veil of the temple, from top to bottom. This form of "castle", if rightly described, belongs to the class of fortified "cashels" of Ireland, and to the "steadings" of Scandinavia. The practice also of depriving champions of their arms on entering the banqueting room, on which the whole of the scene in Malory turns (I, xxxix and xl) is one common to Irish stories and Scandinavian, and is mentioned by Giraldus as still in use in Wales in his time. As he remarks it, we may conclude the practice was not then English or Norman, and that it was considered antiquated in Wales. When Gawain arrived at the castle, he found a handsome building—

"Dont tout li mur et li querel
Erent ouvré moult ricement."

Conte, v. 33,485.

and was received by a noble knight wearing a crown of fine gold, enamelled,

"N'avoit en la crestianté
Si bel home ne si cortois."

The Grail served them (no word of it in the Balin story) and the spear was carried through the hall. As the story developed so did the reverence to the sacred relics increase. The lance (head) was set in a chalice; the Grail is covered with a red or white samite, Angels guard it, and the chamber where it lodges is as light "as if all the torches of the world had been there". The gradual change from the rudeness of the life shown plainly in the

story of Balin, to the refinement and courtesy of the later scenes, when Perceval and Galahad appear, speaks of a long period during which the story had existed.

We may now leave the romantic side of the story and return to the "Early History". The sources for this would have been chiefly the faint traditions of the coming of Christianity to Britain, and the canonical and apocryphal scriptures; there were also certain contributory traditions of the Rhone valley, of Alsace and of De Borron's own country, which have already been noted. It is possible, also, that before De Borron wrote, the story of the Grail had already been popularised by Passion Plays and travelling "songmen". The latter, with their "pleasing rhymes", are mentioned as telling the story, in the *Petit St. Graal*, and the tradition of their minstrelsy reached even to Malory, who tells how a harper came into the hall and sang "an old song of how Joseph of Arimathea came to this land"; he is perhaps quoting from an old book or current story. Suggestions of dramatic representations of the Descent into Hell are frequent. Hell is represented compendiously in the *Grand St. Grail* by a burning tomb—a very expressive figure and almost certainly a stage device. From another scene of *The Harrowing of Hell*, as the play was called, is no doubt taken that of Gawain at the Castle of the Black Hermit, in the *High History* (Branch ii, chap. 3). The Hermit is Death, he had killed many good knights, and notoriously the Red Knight, foully; also he holds many knights in prison, who cry continually, "Ha, God! what hath become of the Good Knight, and when will he come?" The rest of the drama is given in Branch xviii, when Perceval goes to attack Castle Mortal. He had "burst the sepulchre", and the rumour of this had reached the castle, making the warders to quake (cf. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*). He

quickly won the outer wards, which were ill defended, then he discards his carnal weapons and with the banner of the resurrection in his hand advances to the attack of the citadel, mounted on a white mule. He is accompanied by a lion, himself the Lion of the Tribe of Judah; the warders make no defence,—he enters the castle (the church, for we must suppose this is a Holy Week ceremonial), twelve hermits, his apostles, accompanying him, St. Peter carrying the banner,—the king of Castle Mortal drowns himself in the moat (Styx). Being come into the castle (we may suppose the procession has advanced to the chancel gates), there is heard “right sweet praising of our Lord”. There cannot be any doubt that the authors of the *Grand St. Graal* and of the *High History*, both followed dramatised versions in these descriptions.¹ Apocryphal gospels, supplementing the canonical books, were abundant, though they may not have had all the authority in De Borron’s time they had once possessed, he would at least have found confirmation in them of the stories he had acquired elsewhere. They were the only authorities for the events of the three days, when Christ descended into Hell. The killing of the felon knight (the triumph over death) is therefore a symbolising of the christian story: the tomb, the descent into Hell, the liberation, and the death of the tyrant, are represented by the dead knight lying on his bier, while his double, his very self, seeks out the murderer and kills him. That this was intended we see from the story, for Gawain, by his question, delivers from long waiting and suffering those which were dead and those which live.² Finally, there was

¹ The form “Joseph Barimachie” is alone suggestive of this; it is also proof of a previous Latin version.

² *Studies, etc.* Mr. Nutt’s abstract of the Gawain episode of *Diu Crône*, p. 27.

the "great book" of the Grail to which De Borron refers, and some writings or perhaps a "Life" of Bishop Blaise of Troyes, who accompanied Germanus on his first mission.¹ Mr. F. Lot has demonstrated (*Romania*, vols. xxiv, xxv, 1895-6), that the transmission of the Grail stories *must*, in some cases, have been by writing, and if so, perhaps De Borron was not absolutely lying when he referred, like so many of his contemporaries, to a manuscript original as his authority.

Very valuable, also, are the traces of Welsh tradition. The beginnings of Christianity in Britain were unknown; the mission of Germanus would be all the Britons could remember of any avowed preaching of the Gospel, and if a formal opinion existed of the manner of the conversion of Britain, it would have been founded upon such memories of Germanus' preaching as may have been preserved. The *Vita Germani* of Constantius tells how the Saint proceeded:—There was the wicked tyrant to be overcome,—the long vigil outside the gates of the Llys,—the miracle which either converted him or annihilated,—the occupation of the fort, which then became a "Castle of the Faith".² The story of Columba gives us precisely similar incidents, and they answer very nearly to the story in the *Grand St. Graal*: the coming of Joseph—the conversion of Ganort—the treachery of kings Crudel and Agrestes,³—the building of Castle Corbenic. The correspondence is the more remarkable because, at the time we may suppose the story to have become literary, a very different mode of conversion was the rule. Alfred gave

¹ See prologue to the Didot *Perceval*. Nutt, *Studies*, p. 28.

² The name actually given to the Hill of Scone, after the conversion of Nectan.

³ Who may represent the old paganism which revolted and drove Nectan into exile.

Guthrum peace on condition of baptism, and the Danes were converted by the same argument—Christianity or the Sword—down to the time of Canute. There is no other method in *Peredur* and the other chivalric stories. Two epochs are therefore evident, and that of the *Grand St. Graal* is the earlier.¹ This is also seen by the character of the mission prepared in the *Estoire*, and described more fully in the *Grand St. Graal*. If these had been inventions of the twelfth century, or from a Catholic source, we should have had the mission fully equipped, as was that of Bonifacius for the conversion of the Pictish king,² with a bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, etc., etc., for each church founded. In the *Early History* we have the Bishop only,—an argument for the antiquity of the legend and for its British origin.

Among the very heterogeneous materials of these stories, the most difficult to apportion rightly are perhaps the scraps of classic lore; the difficulty being in the determination whether these are “popular”, coming into the story as fragments of ancient fable still existing in Britain, or whether they were introduced by the French writers as literary ornaments. The lion, for example, who attends the hero and fights for him, may perhaps be regarded as one of these additions, but the eternal contest between light and darkness had been represented by the image of a lion overcoming a serpent, for a very long time, and this may have been intended; or it may be the fable of Androclus, bequeathed with like stories to the Britons by the Romanized population of the fourth century. Of Romano-British origin is almost certainly that image of the anvil guarded by two serpents. It can only be the

¹ We cannot refer to the *Estoire* for the conversion; De Borron promises to bring the Grail to Britain, but breaks off before doing so.

² See the account of this in Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 229.

altar of Esculapius, painted on the walls of Roman houses. Some of the villas of Britain may have stood for long years after their desertion, preserved from depredation by the awe surrounding these relics of a mighty race. The painted altars, with the symbols of the god, might have been supposed to represent the anvils on which the terrible Roman swords were forged.

The magic sword of Perceval was found by him on such an anvil (Gerbert). It would be very difficult to see in this image of an anvil guarded by serpents an invention of the twelfth century. Solomon's crown is placed on a "rich bed" in a ship; did the writers know anything of a *lecti-sternium*? Evelach's shield, which killed when the cover was removed, may be a loan from the story of Perseus, but there is another from the same source which makes it probable the borrowing was not from the literary version of the story, and not to be credited therefore to the reading of the Trouvères: Peredur killed the Adanc of the Lake by hiding behind a great stone until his enemy was within striking distance, though he had in his possession the ring which made him invisible;—the story was lately told by an Albanian woman *in the same way*.¹ The relation of the hero to Achilles in all the Grail stories is another fact of uncertain derivation, because the *Iliad* was well known, in a certain form, and with it other parts of the Achilles Saga probably, in the twelfth century. The hero, as Peredur, kills stags without nets while still a boy,—he refuses to take part in the fight with the witches until certain of his companions have been slain, Perceval fights Hector until both lie for dead on the ground.

¹ Constaens, *La Légende d'Edipe*, p. 105 (1881). Thus we have in the *Peredur* version, two interpretations of "the stone which rendered invisible": another proof of the wealth of the traditions from which the Grail stories are derived.

When Galahad is looked for to undertake the Quest he is found in a nunnery by Merlin=Ulysses,—a finding surely traditional, because Lancelot had been to the nunnery only the day before to knight his son. Who more fit to introduce the boy to Arthur than Lancelot? Since he refrained we must suppose that the tradition required that it should happen as it did. It would be consistent with this derivation of the story if the name of his grandfather, Pelles, could be read Peleus; it does seem more like this than the Welsh *Pwyll*, from which Professor Rhys derives it. The Theseus myth was also known to the makers of these stories: the instance of the black sail in *Tristram* is familiar, and it is easy to see how much nearer is the childhood of Peredur to that of Theseus than is that of Conla in the story of Fionn, though there is relationship in all. Without going further with these examples, it may be said that they are best explained by supposing a filtration of classic story into the folklore of Britain. One more very remarkable example may, however, be permitted. When Sir Bors, and on another occasion Gawain, passed a night of probation at the Castle of the Grail, Sir Bors was assailed by a shower of arrows, by a flaming spear, by an armed man, and then by a lion, a leopard, a dragon in succession. The arrows may have been fairy bolts, but cf. the Life of Columba, when he was attacked by a “black host of demons who showered on him iron darts”; the flaming spear has been already discussed; but the man, lion, leopard and dragon are all metamorphoses of Zagreus, and these could not have been known except by tradition of his worship probably remaining in Britain. There is nothing incredible in this idea—the wreckage of classic myth and custom may have been preserved by the few minstrels and story tellers who survived the great dispersal of the sixth century, and

transmitted from them to the ninth and tenth. For the Romans *must* have left some stories behind them and some beliefs; the crowds of servants attached to the Villas, some native, some imported, *must* have exchanged stories, and they would do that the more freely when they found that one was the fellow of another. The story of Helen would lead to that of Deirdre, or of Grainne, and these would bring up the story of Adonis; and so on for ever. It is not fanciful surely to recognise in the *plasma* of the Grail stories fragments of classic workmanship, or to assume something as to the antiquity of the legend because of them.

This review of the details of the Grail story might be extended far beyond the bounds which *Y Cymmrodor* could permit, but the examples will suffice to show that the material of the stories had been long years in preparation, that it is of great variety, and that much of it had become the kind of *breccia* of ancient myth we call folklore, before it was re-shaped for the service of the Grail; also, it must be allowed, after consideration of the parts, that no pagan element is of such predominating, attractive force as to form of itself the nucleus of our new story. The legend of the Precious Blood had such power, and it prevailed by assimilating all ancient beliefs which competed with it for popular favour, and by adapting such stories as would help its own development.

PART V.—CONCLUSIONS.

Various stories were brought together to make what has become the “Story of the Grail”:—there is the story of the preservation of the Holy Blood; the story of the conversion of Britain, in which the relic was of chiefest efficacy; and the story of the Grail which ministered to the guests of Arthur. The first of these stories might have been told anywhere, and was told variously, according as Joseph of Arimathea or Longinus was allowed the honour of securing the precious relic for the Church. The second and third stories are both British, but drawn from opposite sources; that which tells of the mythic Arthur being derived wholly from Celtic traditions; the other, which is the legendary history of the coming of Christianity to this Island, is compiled from some traditions of the Church and from the sacred books. The two Christian stories were united to form the *Early History*; the third, or pagan source of the legend, gave the popular forms called the *Conte del Graal* and the various “Percivals” of France and Germany. In the two fundamentally Christian parts of the composite story Arthur is unknown, and, conversely, the Arthurian side of the story knew nothing of the *Early History*, but when the miraculous Grail became one with the Holy Relic brought by Joseph to Britain there followed a fusion of the stories; the later version of the *Estoire*, called the *Grand St. Graal*, contains a prophecy of the coming of Arthur, and fragments of the *Joseph* are introduced into the *Queste* to give a Christian meaning to the phenomena of the Grail Castle. These cross references are manifest interpolations.

Belief in the existence of some portion of the Precious Blood was general; it was part of the legend of St. Longinus in Italy, it may have been known in Gaul as

part of the story of Joseph. The *Vita Germani* makes it possible that the Saint was under the influence of the story when it shows him taking the earth soaked with the blood of St. Alban, which he found at Verulam, and carrying it to Gaul. A like veneration was shown by the followers of Oswald for the earth saturated with his blood at Maserfield. The piety of Germanus may have been a tradition in Britain after his visit, but it is not less likely that the example which inspired him may also have been known, and had become part of the settled belief of the Church. Oswald was an Angle and the people about him English, but he had been educated at Iona, and his Christianity and that of his people was Celtic; the story of Joseph and the Precious Blood, if known to the Britons, would thus have passed to those Angles who were under the teaching of the British Church. A very remarkable incident in the life of St. David is strong presumption that the story of the Precious Blood was known in Britain. David is said to have gone to Jerusalem, together with Teilo and Padarn, to get their consecration, and to each saint was given a memorial of the visit by the Patriarch. To David was given *the very tomb in which the Body of the Lord had lain*.¹ The tomb, it must be noted, is not that of the Gospels, but a sarcophagus with a lid, and St. David used it as an altar—as was the custom, after the handsome pagan sarcophagi began to be appropriated for the burial of saints. Here, then, is a vessel which had contained the Lord's body, and, having become miraculous, was given to a great personage. This is the story of the Grail with only slight variation, and it makes certain that the Precious Blood had been already attributed to Arthur

¹ "Life of St. David", Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*; cf. the "Life of St. Padarn" in same collection, and the "Life of St. Teilo" in the *Book of Llandaff*.

before this replica of the Grail was awarded to his kinsman.

The conditions for the development of the story appear to have been more favourable in Wales and the Celtic parts of Britain than elsewhere. On the continent popular piety was fully engaged in the commemoration of local Saints, in England the memories and the miracles of Cuthbert, and Edmund, and Etheldreda, and an infinite number of Saints and Martyrs, occupied the minds and the time of the faithful; there was also here, as well as abroad, the moderating influence of a dignified clergy, always disinclined to extravagant and unauthorized beliefs. A certain naïveté or provincialism was needed for the acceptance of a legend which never got beyond the nebulous state of "pious opinion" in Gaul or Italy. The isolation of Wales at the time when the story of the Grail was forming, is very noticeable in the story of the Tomb. Only among a people cut off from the thinking and active world, could the opinion have been held that this precious relic—hardly less sacred than the Grail itself—had been reserved, during five hundred years at least, for the peculiar gratification of their own Bishop.¹ The Precious Blood might have been partly possessed in Britain, but this tomb, in any rational imagination, could only have been supposed at Constantinople, where all the great relics of the Passion were kept. No impossibility however presented itself to our authors or their readers, and the same unreasoning patriotism would easily accept the gift of the Precious Blood as a mark of Divine favour

¹ This is perhaps taking the matter too much *au pied de la lettre*; certainly the authors of these Welsh legends had not the historical sense, and they may have imagined this journey of the three Saints as made in the first century. The tomb is found in a corner, where it had been covered by a pile of skins, and forgotten!

to the Cymry. There was no moderating influence. The opinion of Theodosius (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xvi, part I, p. 111) was probably unknown; a contemporary opinion seems to have been disregarded. In 804 there was great excitement in Mantua, because of the finding of a sponge, supposed to be imbued with the Holy Blood, in the tomb of St. Longinus, and the "rumour" reached the ears of Charles the Great. The Emperor thereupon enquired of Pope Leo III what ought to be thought of a discovery which, he said, seemed to contradict the teaching of the Scholastic Theology.¹ The answer of the Pope, who made inquisition on the spot, is not recorded, but must have been adverse to the Mantuan claim, or we should have had an Italian "Grail", with Longinus and the great Charles himself as keepers.

Another proof of the provincialism we have noticed, is the sending of David and his companions to Jerusalem for consecration. It is as if nothing had happened since Wales first received the Faith; the ideas of ecclesiastical order are those of the Acts of the Apostles. Jerusalem and Britain—there is nothing else: just as in the *Estoire* and the *Grand St. Graal*, Britain is the Promised Land, and the bringing of the Vessel is a mark of God's favour to the chosen people. Ignorance of Rome and of Roman claims is also a significant feature, equally noticeable in the *Early History*. The pilgrims do not visit Rome, either going or returning, while in the possibly contemporary legends of St. Boniface and St. Serf, reputed missionaries to the Picts, both Saints are brought to Rome, after seeing various Eastern countries, and there they are made Pope. In this way Catholic legend exalted Catholic missionaries above the Columban clergy of

¹ Muratori, anno 804; or Equicola, *Chronica de Mantua*, c. iv.

Scotland; the Welsh hagiographers distinguished David and Teilo and Padarn by making them independent of Rome.

This irreconcilable temper of the Welsh legends—of the early ones, we are not referring to the complete “Lives”, which were compiled after the Norman Conquest of Wales—may be good evidence of antiquity. Wales was brought into conformity as regards Easter and the Tonsure in the latter part of the eighth century; if this was a true conformity, then the ignorance we are speaking of—real or affected—would have to be dated before 777, when the last adhesion was received, that of South Wales;¹ but it is possible that this seeming reconciliation, so far from denoting a genuine acceptance of Roman authority, may have been but the beginning of greater resentments—like a more celebrated “Act of Union”, and we are permitted to assume a probably later date than 777 for the pilgrimage, and for the beginnings of the *Estoire*. At the end of the eighth century Arthur was not yet Christian champion, and the Grail was not therefore in his keeping, and the story of the Tomb would have lacked its original. The earliest mention of Christian Arthur is that in the *Annales Cambrie*, where he is said to have carried on his shoulders “for three days and three nights”, at the battle of Badon Hill, *crucem domini nostri Jesu Christi*. The Annals appear to have been compiled in the years 954-5, though Skene prefers the date 977. In the earliest edition of the *Historia Britonum* nothing is said of bearing the Cross, though the battle is recorded; we have thus all the time between the eighth century and the middle of the tenth in which to place the “conversion” of Arthur

¹ Celtic uses were not abolished in Brittany until the ninth century, when Louis le Débonnaire forbade them. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*.

and the beginning of the Christian legend of Arthur. When the Precious Blood had been given to Arthur to keep, then the story of the Tomb given to his chief bishop and relative, might have been imagined. With the legend of the altar and the consecration at Jerusalem, we bracket the beginnings of the *Estoire*, since they both exhibit the same ideas of ecclesiastical polity—which, however, may not have died out in Wales until the Norman occupation.

The mention of Arthur by the first “Nennius” may have been the virtual beginning of the legend which has become famous. Some of the Welsh poems refer vaguely to an Arthur as Emperor, “sovereign elder,” conductor of the toil (of war), but the poems themselves are devoted to the deeds of Owen, Geraint, Kai, Bedwyr and others. Of the hundred and seventeen printed by Skene¹ there are but five, as he remarks, which mention Arthur at all. Whoever the true Arthur may have been, whether partisan leader or commander of the cavalry of a legion, he had become mythical before these poems were made. The number of victories ascribed to him by Nennius—twelve—betrays a myth. Commentators are not yet agreed whether these battles were fought wholly in the north or, some there, some in the south of the Island. If they were real engagements which had been favourable to the Britons, they were perhaps the only victories in many campaigns, and not all won by one commander. It may be that the attribution of all the victories to one national hero is evidence of a returning patriotism, disposing Britons to reunion ; but it may also imply that the names of the real commanders had been forgotten.

The Arthur of the “Lives of the Saints” corresponds

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i.

in no way to the majestic figure which looms dimly in the poems. He is a petty tyrant, one of the curses of the country, possibly, when these "Lives" were first shaped:—He snatches a cloak from St. Padarn, the one given him by the Patriarch of Jerusalem; he contends with St. Cadoc and is made ridiculous; he is reprov'd by Kai and Bedwyr for a disgraceful use of his prerogative.¹ Such was the Arthur of the clergy before he had been promoted to the office of Champion of the Church; he is neither the liberal dispenser of food, imagined by the people, nor the wielder of the forces of Britain. His portrait is doubtless that of the prevailing type of local tyrant, in all times obnoxious to the clergy. It shows plainly that there was a time when Arthur was not popular, and barely Christian—little more than a name to which everyone could attach his own conception. We shall not be dating the Christian legend of Arthur too late if we assume that it had its beginnings about the time when the tenth-century Neunius attributed the victory of Badon Hill to the Cross which Arthur bore through that fight.

The story of Peredur is doubtless much older than some of the incidents attached to it. The hero is said to have been one of the sons of Evrawc, who belongs to the class of mythical kings of Britain,² from whom great personages were proud to trace descent. Twenty sons and thirty daughters are named by Geoffrey, who attributes also to Evrawc the building of York, of Dunbarton, and Edinburgh. As two of these were Pictish fortresses the legend of Evrawc may have been Pictish. He is "owner of the Earldom of the North" in the story, which would

¹ Cf. the lives of SS. Cadoc, Caramnog, and Padarn in Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*.

² Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. II, chap. 6. He calls Evrawc "the famous youth".

date one version of *Peredur* within the time when Northumbria was ruled by Danish Jarls, or English Earls; and the latter of these periods might bring us to the Conquest. The name *Evrawc* identifies the father with York more particularly than with either of the other forts, and his legend therefore, if Pictish, may have been built upon the adventures of some *Dux Britanniae* whose headquarters were there. The *Peredur* of Geoffrey is not found among the sons of *Evrawc*, but his father, *Morvid*, and his great grandfather, *Sisillius*, are—the latter as third son and the former as fifth. Nothing remarkable is said of *Peredur* by Geoffrey; it is possible there was another tradition in which *Peredur* took the place of his father—or perhaps father and son had one name, for York was not called after *Evrawc*, whatever Geoffrey may have intended. If the title “Earl of the North” belongs to the Christian period of the *Peredur* story it would coincide nearly with the time of the conversion of Arthur. Eric Bloodaxe was made Earl of York in 935, and Northumberland became an English earldom in 954, Guthrum’s treaty with Alfred was in 878 *c.*

The adaptation of the story of *Peredur* was a mighty aid to the growth of the Grail legend: as the story of the Grail it became the official register, as it were, of the wonders of Arthur’s court—for to Arthur’s court it was necessarily attracted; the Precious Blood was there, and this striking exposition of the Bleeding Spear was its proper emblem. As the supreme marvel attracted to itself, not the spear only, but all things mystical and strange, the story of the Grail became a collection of miraculous incidents, on which it depended for its interest. Story it is not properly; there is no plot or construction, but there is an atmosphere of mystery which unites everything—one reads as under enchantment; nevertheless, the

story of the Grail cannot be classed among the great stories of the world, though its popularity has been greater than some. It belongs rather to the class of legends of the Saints—collections of anecdotes brought together to magnify the miraculous powers, or the sanctity of the hero, in each case. The *Grail* excels all these by the sense of superhuman sanctity it produces.

While this mystic legend was growing round the belief in the existence of the Precious Blood, the story of its coming to Britain would certainly be asked for. Something of the story of Joseph might have been gleaned from the traditions scattered on the pilgrims' way to Marseilles and Jerusalem, and from various apocryphal books; the faint remembrances of the mission of Germanus, or the *Vita* itself, would supply the material for an imaginary landing in Britain. A story so constructed could only have had its origin in the monasteries, and, as it would claim a certain authority, it could not have varied much from the first. The story of the hero who achieved the Grail being wholly popular, would be adapted to many tastes in turn, and the hero would not always be the same. Signs of change and development are not wanting in the hieratic story also; proof that it travelled and was in existence for some time before it took ultimate shape in France. Joseph becomes Josephes (Joseph's son) in the *Grand St. Graal*, because a high priest was wanted who was unmarried—a condition not thought of so long as the story was Welsh only. It became more mystical also under new influences, and, as a consequence of the migration to Brittany, a second leader had to be invented—Alain, who occupied the same position in the ecclesiastical and mythical history of Brittany which Brons, or Brân, held in that of Wales.

It may be remembered that De Borron called his un-

finished poem *Li romans de l'estoire dou Graal*; we have always called it the "Estoire", or "Joseph", to distinguish it from the *Conte*; story of the Grail, romance of the Grail, being practically one title. It is worth noting, as a last remark on a point which is important in the history of the legend, that the identity of name is itself sufficient evidence that, the Grail about which Chrestien and De Borron wrote (and many others), could not have been the invention of either writer. Both had audiences eager to learn of this wonder, and they each gave what information they had; or perhaps the information most acceptable to their hearers—Chrestien translating the heroic story and De Borron the ecclesiastical. Both are equally stories of the Grail—the one of its coming to Britain, the other of its sojourn at Arthur's court.¹

We now return to the question which was left unanswered at the opening of this enquiry: why was the Holy Vessel in which the Precious Blood was reserved called Grail?

The vessel could only have been a cup or basin; De Borron calls it "caalice" and vessel, "veissel", and his story shows it could not have been a dish, yet *graal*, *gréal*, *graaus*, etc., can only have meant *dish* at the time of De Borron's writing. All the writers agree as to the name, and at the same time let us see they are puzzled, and would gladly have explained away the meaning by a mystical interpretation. We perceive, then, that they were

¹ In respect of the story of Arthur and his Knights the Quest of the Grail is but an episode. The cycle of the Table-Round includes many adventures and histories which do not belong to the Quest—the deeds of Owen, Geraint, Lancelot, Gawain, Balin and of many Celtic heroes, whose separate stories are held together by references to Camelot and Arthur. The *Morte D'Arthur* of Malory is a collection of some of these, to which the Death of Arthur gives the title;—five books only out of the twenty-one deal with the "Sangreal".

telling a story of which they did not know the beginnings, and it is to the beginnings we must look if we would understand how dish became cup without losing the name of dish.

The Grail and the "Table" were inseparable:—at the Table the guests were fed by the Grail only; Arthur was Grail King, because keeper or owner for the time; when the Grail disappeared the companions of the Table went out to seek it. All the great Celtic divinities were served at table magically: Mannanan mac Lir by a cloth which always brought the food asked for, the Dagda by a cauldron, Gwyddno by a *mwys* or basket; Arthur likewise had his "horn of abundance" in some form, we do not yet know what. In the *Early History* we have a miraculous Vessel, veiled and placed in the midst of the faithful, feeding all with inexhaustible refreshment; it fed Joseph in prison, and again Joseph and the little band which followed him to Britain. This sustaining property of the Christian relic may have been derived from the history of the wanderings of Israel, which was the model for the story of Joseph's journey to Britain; or it may have been derived from the mystical language freely used by Christians in respect of the Blessed Sacrament, "Bread from Heaven, having in itself every delight"—"Angels' food"—and many others, which need not be repeated here. Between the "round table" of the king and the Eucharistic feast there was at first, and perhaps until very late in some parts of Britain, a strong outward resemblance;¹ there were the

¹ As late as 1069 the biographer of Queen Margaret of Scotland affirms that "there were certain of the Scots, who, in different parts of the country, were wont to celebrate masses in *I know not what barbarous rite*, contrary to the custom of the whole Church", as the custom then held. (Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 348, who, however, thinks that the "barbarous rite" was but the common rite in a barbarous tongue. The biographer would hardly have said "rite"

same number of participants—the King and his twelve champions—the Bishop with his elders, representing Christ and the Apostles, and the resemblance would be closer when the King's table and the King himself had become mythical, because of the mysterious Vessel, or whatever the thing might be, which was called the Grail. Between these came the Table established by Joseph "in imitation of the first" and scarcely separable from it. Whatever language was used of the elder of these would be applicable to the other, and would undoubtedly have been used. Equally, this table of Joseph's ordination would be identified with that of Arthur as soon as the Vessel containing the Precious Blood had been entrusted to his keeping.

When Peredur was sent back to the Castle of Wonders, he was told to ask about the spear; whether he arrived or not, Gawain did, and asked; it was then the chief "wonder", and had become the lance "dont li fins Diu fu

had he meant "speech". Another quotation, p. 357, helps us to see that the variation was in *form*, and that it must have differed conspicuously from the ordinary rite. Speaking of St. Andrew's, Dr. Skene tells us, in the language of "the larger legend of St. Andrew", how the establishment had diminished and there were none left (of those who had brought Catholic customs to St. Andrew's) to serve at the altar of the blessed Apostle, but that the *Keledei* "were wont to say their office *after their own fashion* in a corner of a church, which was very small." These *Keledei* lived in communities of thirteen—the *cenn*, or president, and twelve brethren—and observed a manner of life shaped (according to the legend) "more in accordance with their own fancy and *human tradition* than with the precepts of the holy fathers": that is, they were obstinate recusants, maintaining the "tradition" of their fathers against the innovations of the living Church. It was another of their "traditions" to keep Saturday as the day of rest, as did all Christendom at one time. The observance of this very ancient rule of the Church is a proof of long and pure tradition and it makes almost certain that the "barbarous rite" was that of the first centuries. We can picture these belated *Keledei* sitting round the primitive *mensa* "in a corner of the church", and the astonishment of the Catholic clergy at the sight.

voirement férus très parmi le costé”; the grail served the tables. When Perceval arrived at the same Castle, the Vessel brought by Joseph of Arimathea, closely veiled and guarded with lights, was one of the “ostensions” and was called the “Holy Grail.” Between the two visits, therefore, the Vessel containing the Precious Blood had been brought to Arthur’s court, it had taken first place among the marvels, and the original grail had been deposed, giving up name and function to the new comer.

What became of the first “grail”—did it drop out of sight and memory like the bleeding head, or was it allowed to remain—a *roi tondu*? There was a third object in the processions, the dish, *platiau*, *doblier*, *tailleour*, of uncertain name, and of no apparent use; nothing is said about it, though it appears in the processions. It is possible that this may be the deposed grail, but also it may be the Dish of the Last Supper, which was one of the three trophies brought to Britain by Joseph—Grail, Lance and Dish. The titular Grail of the Romances took over the miraculous properties of the pagan grail—whatever it was—which had served Arthur and his Court so long. The bardic name for this was *callawr*, sometimes *peir*, the latter, according to Howell’s laws, being a similar but larger vessel. The *callawr* was the principal cooking utensil of the family, and was adjudged to the husband in a separation of goods. There were “three indispensables of an innate boneddig, a plaid, a harp and a boiler (*callawr*)”;¹ but the Dimetian code II, xviii, 26, says that “the husband is to have the boiler *and the baking girdle*”, as if this was also a necessary property of the housekeeper, or mark of his status. In the Anglo-Saxon half of the

¹ Triad, No. 239, in the collection of *Ancient Welsh Laws*, translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841, and *cf.* the Venedotian code, Book I, xliii, 2, in same collection.

country at the same time the head of a family was called *hláford* (lord, breadgiver). To the wife, in Wales, was attributed the pan (*padell, badell*), also used for baking, but of lesser value. To Arthur then the *callawr* and girdle, to Gwennivere the pan. This brings us back to the familiar Arthur, as he was conceived by the people, who themselves lived the life described by Giraldus; to the Arthur of the Lives of the Saints, cattle breeder or raider as it might be, who rode the country with a troop of horse, quarrelsome and eager for booty, or for war in hope of booty. If we turn to the stories of Border raiders, and of the army which followed Bruce, we shall get a probable picture of such a chieftain, and we may perhaps see the real Arthur, who kept the country between the two walls. The equipment of the troopers was of the simplest—their commissariat a bag of meal thrown across the horse, and the girdle (a thin plate of iron), which served to cook it, hanging at their backs. The importance of the girdle to the warrior is thus evident, it was his camp oven abroad, and at home the symbol of hospitality. Britain had also her Amazons (virgin warriors); three are recorded in the Triads,¹ of whom one was remarkable for the size of her cooking pan, *Mederei Badell-vawr*. Our picture then is not too fanciful, we are getting a glimpse into the real time when the Arthurian legend was forming—the darkest time in Welsh history. Fortunately these dark periods are usually stagnant; when Giraldus illumines for us the Wales of his day we may be sure it had not changed much since Cunedda settled there with his family—a fire to bake the girdle cakes, the guests seated on bundles of rush or hay, served by host and hostess with milk and plank bread (the girdle cakes)—such simple elements were

¹ No. 23 of Loth's edition, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, vol. iv.

the materials out of which Welshmen of the tenth century would construct their Arthur and his "table". The Arthur of the romances comes mainly out of the imagination of the literary class, when literature was reviving under the patronage of a splendid Court; he keeps the three great festivals at Caerleon or Camelot, kings visit him and own themselves his vassals, the great Merlin is his minister. It is to the earlier legend we must look if we would understand the significance of words the romances were not able to explain. Whether philologists will allow old-Welsh *gradell*, *greydell*, to become French *graal*, *gréal*; Latin *gradale*, is for them to say. The derivation would seem to be at the least as good as that of *gradale*=*cratella*, and it is more to the purpose, for we want an equivalent for "dish". As a translation, *discus* would answer exactly to *gradell*. The course of this story's wanderings would have been, if originating in Wales, across the Channel to Brittany and the marches of France; would *gradell*, glossed *discus*, have become *graal* in that case? Where the word appears in the French versions of the story it has the meaning of dish; is the word with this meaning native? It has been a difficulty that this Welsh story centres round an object which is apparently French by name. There is no "old-Welsh" version existing, to which we may appeal, but we know that the proper names in the story returned to Britain phonetically changed and almost unrecognisable; if so, why not the name of the story itself?

Arthur's grail was the symbol of his hospitality. Poets might attribute to him all the successes of the Cymry in their struggle with the Saxon, and endow him with all the talismans of the race; the people could only picture him as better than what they knew, his hearth never cold, the cakes always hot for the guest. The

glimpse we get of the Grail in the second stage of its development, when it has been assimilated to the traditional food-producing agencies of the Celts, shows it passing through the hall and distributing food, à *grand exploit*, to five hundred guests, without help of *varlet ni serjant*; but it supplies bodily food only. When the sacred Vessel of Joseph is brought to Arthur's court it supersedes all wonder-workers of pagan origin and absorbs their functions. Henceforward all miracles of healing or of sustenance will be worked by the Christian Vessel, and to them it will add the graces of immunity from sin, and protection from the powers of darkness. The ancient symbol of Welsh hospitality is thus displaced, but the credit of Arthur did not suffer, his table is as well supplied as of old, and the Grail did not cease to be talked of—it was still the marvel of his court. It is always so, a name persists so long as the function remains; the Christian altar is still *mensa*, though it has no likeness to anything in a Roman *cenaculum*.

Whether the dish, which always appears last in the processions, was the ancient *gradell*, withdrawn from service, or the Dish of the Last Supper, is doubtful. In the earliest versions no heed seems to be taken of this dish, nothing is asked or said about it. The chief purpose of the ostension of relics, as of the exhibition of pictures in churches, was that something should be asked about them, and so the Gospel story might be continually retold. Gawain's enquiry concerning the spear gave the occasion for the story of the Crucifixion; had he gone on to ask about the Dish we might have had the story of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament likewise. The opportunity was not given, and the writers may be supposed to have had their reasons for this; later, however, when the mystical and Christian character of the story

became more fully developed, the writers remembered what De Borron sets out by saying, viz., that Joseph caught the blood in a dish which Christ had used “when he made His sacrament.” A solemn celebration marks the end of the Quest;—after the consecration, Christ himself, bleeding from all his wounds, communicates the twelve knights with “ubblies” taken from the “Holy Vessel”, which he afterwards explains is the Dish of the Last Supper:—

“Then said he to Galahad: Son, wottest thou what I hold betwixt my hands? Nay, said he, but if ye will tell me. This is, said he, the holy dish wherein I ate the lamb on Sher-Thursday. And now hast thou seen that thou most desired to see, but yet hast thou not seen it so openly as thou shalt see it in the city of Sarras, in the spiritual place.”¹

Galahad, Perceval and Bors set out for the City of Sarras; they find a ship waiting for them on which was the Grail, veiled with red samite and placed on a table of silver. By table must be understood here *toblier*, or *mensa* without feet, for it is set *on a bed*; this setting is remarkable, it may be understood as a mark of honour, according to classic precedent, or, it may be an intentional bringing together of the primitive elements of the Eucharistic feast—Grail, *mensa* and *triclinium*—at the moment of the departure of the ancient order from Britain. The withdrawal of the Grail, no longer “sacred or honoured in the way it ought to have been” in this Island, may there signify the extinction of the ancient Celtic rite, brought to Britain by refugees from Lyons in the second century, or by servants of the great Roman officials, or by simple merchantmen—no one knows by whom—but certainly

¹ Malory, Book xvii, chap. 21; and cf. *Y^e Seint Greal*, translated by the Rev. Robert Williams, part I, § lxviii; and Furnivall's *Queste del St. Graal*, printed for the Roxburghe Club.

long existing, and not suppressed everywhere until the Norman conquest made the Catholic party supreme.

The ship, as soon as the three knights came on board, moved away and was driven by a favouring wind to the City of Sarras. It is the same ship in which all heroes of western romance were wafted to the Islands of the Blest, but the City of Sarras was probably in the East, being of Christian origin. Galahad is made king of the City, and, a year after, dies, and a great multitude of angels bare his soul up to heaven. Thus Christian romance does not replace, but appears side by side with pagan in this story, which is a grafting of Christian beliefs on to ancient traditions. After Galahad the Grail also is taken up; Percival and Bors

“Saw come from heaven an hand, but they saw not the body.
And then it came right to the Vessel, and took it and the
spear, and so bare it up to heaven. Sithen was there never
man so hardy to say that he had seen the Sangreal.”

Nothing is said of the dish here, though it had been promised that it would be present in the City of Sarras, and be there more plainly manifest. We can only suppose that Dish and Grail and Vessel were one. It was the Grail that was taken to Sarras, and it was the Grail which was taken thence by the mysterious hand; but this same Grail was called “Vessel” in the last communion of the knights, and it was then authoritatively declared to be the Dish of the Last Supper. Grail had always been the name at Arthur’s court. When the Precious Blood was added to the treasures of Arthur, and was chief “wonder” in place of the Grail, then the meaning of Vessel would be adopted, and used always in reference to that supreme relic or to the Eucharistic feast. When the Last Supper was referred to, Dish became the more suitable meaning, and this agreed with the well-understood and established meaning of Grail.

The alternation of dish and vessel as names for the same thing will not be strange if we consider that the dish of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was usually a bowl; neither will the exchange of vessel, in this sense, for chalice, when used with reference to the Blessed Sacrament, seem arbitrary if we refer to ancient examples. In the treasury of St. Mark's, and in the ancient mosaics there, are chalices of the precise shape given by the painter of the Mons MS. of the *Conte* to the Grail. The same shape precisely is given by the illustrator of the eleventh century MS. of Raban Maur's treatise on *Things Sacred and Profane*, to the dish or bowl which he puts on the table when presenting a feast; and the Rossano MS. shows a dish of exactly the same form on the table of the Last Supper. There is no difference in all these but that of size. Given, then, the word Grail=dish or pan, a meaning it may have borne in the strictest sense, we see how, in France, it might have been explained by reference to the bowls in which choice morsels were served, for the Grail supplied every one with the food he most desired; and equally, how that same form, once accepted as a Grail, would be called by this name when found in the service of the Altar.

GEORGE Y. WARDLE.

ERRATUM.

The writer apologises for a very stupid blunder at the foot of page 127 of the last volume of *I' Cymmrodor*. The "companions" of the King were not what the English word means, but his retinue, his companions by the way. *Comes* is not, of course, a barbaric form, as it was assumed to be. The whole of the sentence after "state" ought to be deleted.

The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.

BY THE REV. S. BARING GOULD, M.A.

THE author of the Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre was Constantius, apparently of Lyons. To the Life are prefixed two letters dedicatory, one to S. Patiens, Bishop of Lyons (451-491), another to Censurius, third bishop in succession to Germanus in the See of Auxerre. There is also a prologue.

Constantius professes in the second letter to have revised and amplified the Life which he had written at the desire of S. Patiens. "The authority of the holy bishop, Patiens, your brother, has required me to retrace in part, at least, the life and acts of the blessed Germanus. If I did not do this as well as I ought, I did what I could. My obedience being known to your beatitude, you ordered me to plunge once more into an excess of temerity, in desiring that I should enlarge the little page, which still remained almost in obscurity, and that I should myself come forward in some sort as my own accuser and betrayer." Censurius, to whom this letter dedicatory was written, was bishop of Auxerre from 472 to 502.

Schoell, in his *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus* (Berlin, 1851), has treated this Life with corrosive criticism; and he argues that it was not the composition of Constantius some thirty-five years after

the death of Germanus, but was a forgery of the sixth century.

His main arguments are these:—Constantius of Lyons was the friend of Apollinaris Sidonius. Now Sidonius (*Ep.* 111) speaks of Constantius in 470-3, as one “*ætate gravem, infirmitate fragilem*”. Is it credible, Schoell asks, that a man who was old and frail in 470-3, should have written this memoir some few years later?

The first edition was dedicated to S. Patiens, at any time between 451 and 472. How long the little page remained unnoticed, we have no means of judging. The second edition, issued whilst Patiens was, as we may judge, still alive, but at the request of Censurius, appeared any time between 472 and 491. It may well have been published earlier than Schoell supposes, the first tract in 460 and the second in 474 or thereabouts. Although Constantius was old and infirm in 470-3, he may have been quite capable of writing. He was not so old and feeble but that, when the Goths were besieging the capital of Auvergne, which made a gallant resistance, but was distracted by internal feuds, he was able to make his journey thither, slip between the lines of the investing barbarians, enter the city, and assist Apollinaris Sidonius in composing the quarrels. A man who could do that could surely write a little memoir. It is a pure assumption that the *Life of Germanus* came out some thirty years later.

Another objection raised by Schoell is this. Constantius, or he who figures under his name, says of the life of Germanus, in his epistle to Patiens, that it was “*obumbratam silentio*”; and so also in the Prologue, “*Nec vereor persuasorem me hujusce ministerii judicandum tanta enim jam temporum fluxere curricula ut obscurata per silentium*

vix collegatur agnito". In thirty or thirty-five years, argues Schoell, the memory of the acts of a great prelate could not have become obscured. But Schoell left out of consideration that the period was one peculiarly stormy. The Huns, the Suevi, the Visigoths and the Alans had ravaged Gaul. Attila had burst in, in 451, sacking and burning cities, and massacring the population. Roman Gaul was invaded and was crumbling to pieces on all sides. The Gallic party with the Visigoths had set up Avitus to be emperor. He was dethroned, and Majorian severely chastised Lyons for the favour it had accorded to Avitus. The roads were broken up, intercommunication between the cities was interrupted. In the desolation and confusion of the times men thought of their own safety, and the rebuilding of their ruined homes, rather than preserving reminiscences of past saintly acts of bishops.

Moreover, Constantius wrote at Lyons, some one hundred and sixty miles as the crow flies from Auxerre, so that what with distance, and inability to come in contact with those who could recall any facts in the life of the great prelate, his first biography would necessarily be *jejune*.

It is most improbable that a fabricator of the sixth century should prefix to his composition two apocryphal dedications, one of which gives out that the former Life written by him had been meagre, and that at a later period he had amplified it. What is far more likely is, that this is a statement of fact, that the "paginula" Constantius had written at Lyons at the instance of Patiens, reached Auxerre, and was brought to the notice of the bishop there, who could furnish him with fresh material, which he sent to Constantius, with the request that he would recompose the biography with the aid of what was now

furnished. Schoell has noted that in no place does Apollinaris Sidonius speak of the Life of S. Germanus in his letters to Constantius. But if the first edition was a mere "paginula", the author may not have deemed it worthy of being brought under the eye of Sidonius. Schoell further remarks on the number of miraculous stories introduced into the Life, some very absurd, so many as hardly to comport with a biography written so short a time after the death of the subject.

But the age was one that craved for miracles, and imagined them. Moreover, Schoell was unaware that there is extant a text of Constantius that is comparatively free from this padding of marvel.

This is a MS. from Silos in Spain, recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is a MS. of the twelfth century, but it is a copy made from a text so early that it precedes the adulteration of the Life that took place late in the sixth century. That the Life of Germanus by Constantius was "farced" in that century, of that there can now remain no doubt; and we also know some of the sources from whence the additions were made. The additions, in the main, are these:—

1. The whole story of S. Amator cutting down the pear tree, on which Germanus hung offerings of the spoil of the chase, as also of Amator consecrating Germanus priest, of the death of Amator, and a subsequent miracle—all this is derived from a Life of S. Amator by Stephanus Africanus, written at the request of Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre (573-603).

2. The very absurd story of the conversion of Mamertinus at the tomb of Corcodemus. Whence this long interpolation came, is not known.

3. The narrative of S. Germanus' encounter with S. Genoveva at Nanterre, on his way to Britain. This is taken from the life of that saint, written by a priest who had known her; anyhow, written in the reign of Childebert (511-558).

4. The account of Germanus seeking and exhuming the body of S. Alban at Verulam.

5. The narrative of the intervention of Germanus in favour of S. Genoveva on his way to revisit Britain the second time. This is from the same source as 3.

As the MS. from Silos (Nouvelles Acquisitions, Lat. 2178) has never been published, and is of great importance, we shall give in the sequel a collation with the Life as amplified, which was published in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul. vii, pp. 200-221.

A fragmentary copy of Constantius, of the eighth century, has been assumed by the Abbé Narbey (Bibl. Nat., Paris, Nouvelles Acq., Lat. 12,598; printed in *Etude critique sur la vie de S. Germain*, Paris, 1884), to be the original Constantius. But it is obviously made up of Breviary lessons for some church unknown. Such lections were mere scraps taken out of a biography, by the aid of a pair of scissors. The compiler of the office selected just those portions which he regarded as most conducive to edification, without attempting to compile an historical summary. Accordingly he chose details about the saint's self-denial, his scanty food, poor raiment, and bed of cinders, with a specimen miracle, and that sufficed.

There is a Gallican missal of the sixth century that was published by Mabillon in 1685; this contains the feast of S. Germanus, and has a proper preface summing up the principal events of his life, but giving no details. These details, however, we obtain from the lections for

the feast of the saint, in the Breviaries of S. Germain des Près, and S. Corneille de Compiègne, printed by Narbey. There are eight in the office of the former, twelve in that of the latter, and in them are none of the interpolations. All these snippets are fragmentary. In Lection V of the office in the Breviary of S. Corneille, after detailing the charity and sanctity of Germanus, it goes on to say :—"In the meantime these apostolic priests had filled the isle of the Britons with their renown, that isle of the Britons which is the first or greatest of the isles. An immense crowd pressed daily on them," etc. Not a word about who these "apostolici sacerdotes" were, not a word about their having been commissioned to combat Pelagianism in Britain.

Narbey, who has criticised the Life of Germanus by Constantius, as well as has Schoell, contends that the second epistle dedicatory is a forgery prefixed to the adulterated Life. But there is no real basis for such an opinion, as we shall see; the Silos MS. possesses both, though in inverted order, and this is without the interpolations.

Both epistles are apparently by the same hand, both bear the same character of mock humility, and are couched in the same obsequious tone.

In the book *De Vitis Illustrium Virorum*, attributed to S. Isidore (d. 636) we have: "Constantius episcopus Germani vitam contexit". The writer was mistaken in making Constantius a bishop, or else the transcriber has written episcopus in lieu of episcopi.

Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (I, xvii-xxii), quotes from the amplified and adulterated Constantius.

The annexed collation was made for me, at my request, by M. Michel Prevost of Paris, who I have reason to know may be thoroughly trusted.

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178. Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

[Exclusively orthographic differences are not noticed, as where an *h* is omitted, or where a *p* is omitted, as in *redemptio*, or where *e* takes the place of *æ*. The passages in italics in each column are such as are wanting in the other version.]

Fol. 6.	In the MS. the Epistola ad Sanctum Patientem follows the Epistola ad Sanctum Censurium.	1. Epistola ad Sanctum Patientem.
	In the Epistle to S. Patiens, after the word "intimetur" is added <i>Valete longinquum meique semper memores preces Christo fundite.</i>	2. Epistola ad Sanctum Censurium.
Fol. 7. caritati peccavimus	p. 201, col. 1. A caritati operam damus
	actu demum	" " " 2. E . . . uberiore § 1 In quo actu dum . . .
	preminentiae	preminentem
	perfecto occulto divini divinitatis
	fatis iudicio . . .	occulto
		pp. 202-3, § 2-8 are wanting in N.A.L. 2178
	cum	p. 204, § 9 tum
	postulabat	postulat
		§ 10 civile
		vero
	initium	exordium
	tantæ	tanta
	dies	die
		ita
	panes hordeaceas sumit	panem hordeaceum sumpsit
Fol. 8.	aderictione	§ 11 attritione
	summitate marginis	marginem continentes
	continentem	

72 *The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 8. damnaverat membra

 cassulla
 continentem
 toti

 pedes manibusque suis
 populis et congrega-
 tionibus monachorum
 ecclesiastica gratia re-
 pleretur.
 visendi episcopum causa

 et tunc
 postero die
 ex malitia quod com-
 mitterat denegavit . . .
 tunc vero pia commotio
 sacerdotis premissaque
 in plebe adductione
 solemni in oratione tota
 corporis strage pro-
 sternitur, produci in-
 ficientem precipit in
 populo. Nec mora,
 missam celebraturus
 egreditur statimque . .
 infestatio
 scidum
 pervios

Fol. 9. inmisso
 contexisset.

 quum
 inspiratam
 abba
 spiritus

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. vii, 200.

p. 204, § 11 membra damna-
 verat
 capsula
 continente
 tot

§ 12 *et convivium je-
 junus pastor ex-
 hibuit*
 pedes omnibus .

 raperentur

§ 13 causa visendi
 eum
 et tum
 post triduum
p. 205, § 14 crimen et mali-
 tiam

 statim
§ 15 infestatione
 excidium
 pervius
 admissam
 contigisse
§ 16 *autem*
 cum
 inspiratam
 abbas
 spiritum

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 9. tota per inanem ærem
quam non ut
dignus erat

quum
hæc die tota
succederet

semirutis
algore
quum
orrentes
expetit
ad mediam jam noctem
effigiem terribilem im-
aginem

id
rogare
est redditus
ortatur
domicilio frequentatu

tempus jam
premineret
legatio directa
promptior auctores

oceanus
conscenditur
reddit
in altum navis
projecta

Fol. 10. procellas, pericula
ut

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. vii, 200.

p. 205, § 16. per inane aeris
quam ut
erat dignus

pp. 205-10, § 17-37 are not in the
MS.

p. 211, § 38 *enim*

cum
ac diem totam
secederet

absque
semirutum
rigore

cum
horrentes
expectiit
alta jam nocte

§ 39 effigiem terribilis

hoc
rogat
redditus est
hortatur
domicilium fre-
quentato

§ 40 *noctis*

jam tempus
preminebat

§ 41 directa legatio

promptius heroes

pp. 211-12, § 42-44 are not in the
MS.

p. 212, § 45 *Hi*

Oceanum
conscendunt
reddidit
navis in altum
provecta

pericula, procella

74 *The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 10. ferebatur
 causa legionis opponitur

collegat
e contra
revertuntur

dum

Britannarum insula

quum
divinitus
fundebatur
fides catholica firmaretur

fulget preterea

abditæ
precedunt

excitata
expectator futurus

primore
nuditate verborum

eloquiorum
set cum
deterri

sanctorum reliquis con-
 tinentem

dies
declarata
ut eis prestaretur orabant
martyrem *petierunt*
gratiam referentes

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. vii, 200.

p. 212, § 45 mergebatur
 § 46 causam

 opponit
 collegam
 contrarii
 vertuntur
 ibi *que*

p. 213, § 47 Britanniarum in-
 sulam

cum
divinus
diffundebatur
fide catholici fir-
 marentur

accedebat pre-
 terea

abditi
procedunt
multitudinis . . .

etiam
suis . . . excita

spectator
alstabant

dissimiles

primo
verborum nudi-
 tate

eloquii

§ 48 sed illi
deterriti

sanctam
cum sanctorum . .

diem
deleta

sectarentur

§ 49 martyrem auctori
gratias acturi *pet-*
 ierunt

76 *The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. vii, 200.

Fol. 11.	cuculla	p. 214, § 54	cucullo
	mansiones		mansione
	fur		praedo
	pediti		peditem
	inquiens		inquit
	commoremur		remoremur
			<i>se</i>
	criminum		criminis
	objectationem	pp. 214-5, § 55	objectationem
	probabatur		probatur
	<i>suorum</i> solatia		
	in <i>ejus</i>		
	et		ac
	quantas virtutes		quantum virtutis
	deductaque		deductoque
	illustratam		illustrato
	agrestios		
	quum nicil		cum nihil
Fol. 12.	conligatur		colligatur
.		p. 215, § 56	<i>Sanctus Germanus</i>
	cura		Arari
	exultans se eum vidisse		relevat vel
	itinere		itineria
	adveniente		advenientem
	in suo tempore		sui temporis
			<i>enim</i>
	ingredienti		<i>pontificem</i>
	minore		ingreditur
	cognoscerent		minorem
	ambiturque		cognosceret
	tradebat		ambitque
	<i>etiam</i> confitetur		quaerebat
	quia		qta
Fol. 13.		§ 58	<i>quievit</i> , this para- graph deficient in the MS.
	Britannis	p. 216,	Britanniis
	sustentatur		delectatur

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 13. *navis* Christo auctore
conscendit

preporaberit
quum
admiratione
cumulata formatur
absolutionem
redierunt
vix *dum*

remeaberant
Etius
iniaberat
et mons sacerdas nostras
accedere occurrit
fudit
increpavit
veniam
petierat
presteretur
virtute
preteriens
presbyterum *iterum*
afferri
potionem, benedictionem

deinde husus
amico
salutatur

aspectum
solitario
occurrentium
constipato
inlustratos
preteriret

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

p. 216, § 60 *viro — inceptum,*
mare not in the
MS.

§ 61 properavit
cum
stupore
firmabatur
absolutione
reversisunt

pp. 216-7, § 62

remeaverat
Aetius
inhiaverat
tamen . . .

accederet
fundit
increpat
venia
praestiterat
peteretur
virtutem
dum praeterit

p. 217, § 63

offerri
petitionem bene-
dictionis
deinceps usus
amicum
salutatum reli-
quit
in æternum . . .
vale

§ 64 aspectu
solitarium
occurrentibus
constipatum
inlustratis
preterit
qui dum
responderet, all
this not in the
MS.

78 *The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 14. introrsus
toth
incipirent vulnera esse
prestitissent
adprehendam
adjurgitur
Italia
artifices
redeunt
sociantur
dum
patiuntur
viatoribus
iterato transitu subjecta

celari
altare
quur
Gallias

negavit se esse Episco-
pum
motum
celeri

operatus est

sanitatis

erogare
agitur iter
intuetur
concitus
obvoluti
domicilium fovet
ducitis

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

p. 217, § 65 introrsum
tot
inciperent
restitissent
comprehendam
adjungit

pp. 217-8, § 66 Italian
artificibus
redeuntibus
sociatur
cum
potitur
viator

Libet . . . collo-
caverat, all this
lacking in the
MS.

p. 218 § 67 celare
altari
cur
Galliis
sufficiat
fit

negavit, *Episcopi*
omnes
remotum
celebri
ineolumem
operari dignatus
est
sanctitatis

pp. 218-9, § 68 erogari
iter agitur
intuentur
concitatas
provoluti
domicilio fruitor
ducitis

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

Fol. 14.	orationem vestre comparavat nicil ille Deinde <i>ipse</i> dixeram <i>solidas</i> trecentas tugurie circuit exiens Ravientium per hujus Tum	pp. 218-9, § 68 orationem praeparabat nihil illi dedi
	Placida juniore pro divino	p. 219, § 69 tuguria circumet exigens
	complectitur argenteum daret Ordia ciun transisset abjecto cum preteriebut quo nocte confugit deposcitur gressus curbus tunc clasure	§ 70 Ravennatium praevious tandem <i>silentio</i> Placidia jam juvene provido amplectitur argenti traderet hordeaceun transmisisset abjecti
Fol. 15.	complectitur argenteum daret Ordia ciun transisset abjecto cum preteriebut quo nocte confugit deposcitur gressus curbus tunc clasure	§ 71 dum pieteribat qui noctes recurrat <i>Dei</i> poscitur gressum cernuus tum clausura <i>humane</i> pietatis occurrebant interpolatione
	pietate occurrebat interpollatione successus igne suscitavit	§ 72 succensus igne febrium nuntiavit

80 *The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

Fol. 15.	causa	p. 219,	§ 72	causam
	depulso			repulso
	fideique			
	concutiens <i>pectus</i>			
	<i>Intereae mobetur exanimis</i>			<i>Uter consurgit</i>
	ad tollitur			extollitur
	virtutes Christus			Christus virtutes
	Accule		§ 73	Acholi
	tunc			tum
	monstruum			menstruum
	<i>Hic intervenientu</i>			
				<i>ergo</i>
	Tunc vero latebris mani- festus erupit			tum . . . erupit
	inhabeunte			ab ineunte
	obtinnisse			obtinnisset
	battonis			titubationis
	effectum non habuit			evanuit
	iterata revelionis intentio			circumscriptione
		pp. 219-20,	§ 74	<i>Germanus igitur</i>
	sermo			sermonem
	confertur			conferret
	tristissimam			moestissimam
				<i>Ubi</i>
Fol. 16.	aliquos			aliquot
	contremuit			turbatur
		p. 220,	§ 75	<i>Placidia</i>
	postulavit			postulat
	petit			petiit
				<i>aut amisit</i>
	heredes			heres
	fugum			fagulum
	adparatum		§ 76	apparatu
	ferbens			fervent
	conferentu <i>et invicem</i>			conferentium
	quor			cur
	adlivet			deberetur
	Accolius			Acholi
	imperium			imperator

The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius. 81

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre
by Constantius, as in the Solos
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 16. ministerium
sacerdotis *impendunt*
in presenti ordine in-
stituto se ipsi premi-
tunt
Dum preterit placentiam
ibbi dum in ecclesia
corpus conlocatum
fuisse et vigiliis sancte
devotionis excolerent
illius
paralysis
detenta

mirantibusque
famulatum
reverentia
repercussus
Dum publicem
ad te
solecismum
ad eorum exemplum
consciis futurorum

cui se
supprimendum

Life of S. Germanus by Con-
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*
Sanctorum, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

p. 220, § 76 ministros

presenti
premittunt

Placentiam . . .
praeterit quod
.
. excolitur

ejus
paralysi
extenta
et mulier et

fanulatu
reverentia
repercusso
§ 77 duplicem
a te
solecismis
exemplo
consciis secre-
torum
tacuisse
supprimendo
sedit . . . gloria,
all this lacking
in the MS.
Epitaphium . . .
pangunt, also
lacking in the
MS.

*Sanctus Germanus episcopus pridie
Kalendas augustas de hoc corpore
migravit ad Dominum quem vener-
abilem diem omnes ecclesiae provin-
ciae Gallicanis predicabili devo-
tione suscipiunt et venerantur ut
per suffragia illius misericordiam
Domini consequantur.*

The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford.

By E. ALFRED JONES.

INTRODUCTION.

JESUS College, from its foundation in 1571, and throughout its history, to our own day, has had so close and uninterrupted a connection with Wales, that some account of the Silver Plate, with copies of the original inscriptions, and particulars of the Coats-of-Arms engraved on the gifts, especially as the great majority of the donors were Welshmen, may be of some interest to Welsh antiquaries, genealogists, heraldists, and, possibly, to Welshmen generally.

From the earliest times it was a custom for the wealthier scholars of the University to present a piece of silver to their respective Colleges, but, apparently, it was not until the introduction, early in the seventeenth century, of a new order of members, the Fellow-Commoners, or Gentlemen-Commoners, who were socially to be on an equality with the Fellows, at their “table, garden, and other public places”, that the practice of presenting plate bearing the donor’s name and his arms, was looked upon as almost a condition of admission. At some Colleges, the actual amount to be expended in silver was fixed—at Lincoln it was to be at least £4, “and as much more as they liked”; at Merton, £3; at Corpus Christi, £10. To this custom of gifts is due the large number of silver cups and tankards now belonging to the different Colleges. These were

for the exclusive use of the donors during their residence at, and at their departure became the property of, the College.

Wales, generally, was so enthusiastic in its support of Charles the First that no surprise is occasioned at the ready response of the College, under so loyal a head as its then Principal, Dr. Francis Mansell, himself a member of an old Carmarthenshire family, and whose kinsman, Sir John Aubrey, was imprisoned for adherence to the King, to the King's appeal for the "loan" of its plate, to be transferred into coin at the Mint, which had been removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford, and set up in the New Inn Hall, in the charge of Thomas Bushell. The King's letter, of which the following is a copy, is interesting as shewing the value he placed upon silver and silver-gilt, 5s. per oz. for the former, and 5s. 6d. for the latter.

"Charles R. Trusty and wel beloved we greete you well. We are soe well satisfied with your readyness and Affection to Our Service that We cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to expresse the same. And as We are ready to sell or engage any of Our Land so Wee have melted down Our Plate for the payment of Our Army raysed for Our defense and the preservacon of the Kingdom. And having received severall quantities of Plate from diverse of Our loving Subjts, We have removed our Mint hither to Our Citty of Oxford for the coyning thereof.

"And We doe hereby desire that you will lend unto Us all such Plate of what kinde soever w^{ch} belongs to your Colledge promising to see the same justly repayed unto you after the rate of 5s. the ounce for white and 5s. 6d. for guilt Plate as soon as God shall enable us, for assure yourselves We shall never lett Persons of whom we have soe great a Care to suffer for their Affection to Us but shall take speciall Order for the repaym^t of what you have already lent to Us according to Our promise, and allsoe of this you now lend in Plate, well knowing it to be the Goods of your Colledge that you ought not to alien, though noe man will doubt but in such a case you may lawfully assist your King in such visible

necessity. And Wee have entrusted our trusty and wel-beloved Sr William Parkhurst K^{nt} and Thomas Bushell Esq. Officers of our Mint or either of them to receive the said Plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a Receipt under their or one of their hands for the same. And we assure Ourselfe of your very great willingnesse to gratify Us herein since besides the more publique consideracons you cannot but knowe how much yourselves are concerned in Our sufferings.

“And We shall ever remember this particular service to your Advantage.

“ Given at Our Court at Oxford this 6th day of January 1642 ” [1643].

The Thomas Bushell here referred to was in charge of the Mint at Aberystwyth, prior to its removal to Shrewsbury.

According to Bishop Tanner, the weight of the plate sent in by Jesus College amounted to 86 lbs. 11 ozs. 5 dwts., representing a considerable sum of money at that time.

Unfortunately, however, no list has been preserved, as at Queen's College, of the silver handed over to the King, nor do any records exist of the donors' names.

The College not only readily sacrificed its plate, but also subscribed liberally in money towards the “maintenance of his Majesties' Foote Souldiers for one monthe after fower pounds by the weeke”. Bread and Beer were supplied to the King's soldiers, and the sum of £3 14s. was spent in the purchase of “Musquets, Pikes, and the like”, while the College itself was dismantled into part of a garrison.

The mind pictures the splendid examples of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean silversmiths' work, given to Jesus College, and the earlier and still more magnificent silver of the older Colleges, then consigned to the melting-pot. The treasure would include those wonderful pro-

ductions, with their marvellous proportions and wealth of decorative detail, of the English Goldsmiths-Artists of the fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth, century, when the decoration of plate in this country may be said to have reached its zenith.

While loyalty to the cause of the King may be urged in defence of this destruction of silver plate, no good reason can be offered in extenuation of the unfortunate transformation and melting of the numerous silver gifts, which were made to Jesus College immediately after the Civil War, presumably by order of the College authorities. No doubt, here, as elsewhere in the history of the Goldsmith's and Silversmith's Art in this country, the continuous changes of fashion have led to the mutilation and destruction of many rare and costly specimens of silver work.

Evidence of the conversion of numerous pieces is forthcoming from my appended list, from which it will be seen that several Bowls, "Potts" and Tankards, were turned into Salvers, Cruets, Candlesticks, Entrée Dishes, Mugs, Spoons, and Forks, for about a century, from the year 1717. It is a pity that the things were held in so little regard as to be converted in this way from their former condition, especially as many of the transformed articles are now seldom used in the College. The original arms and inscriptions appear to have been reproduced in almost every instance, though errors in the engraving of the arms can be detected.

Every Welsh county, with the possible exception of Radnorshire, is represented by important gifts, and the names of many of the most notable families—families which have played an important part in the history of Wales—will be found amongst the donors, *e.g.*, from North Wales: Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, third Baronet, the donor of

the enormous Punch Bowl, which is believed to be the largest of its kind in England; Thomas James Warren, seventh Viscount Bulkeley; Thomas Madryn of Madryn; Colonel Hugh Nanney of Nanney, M.P., Vice-Admiral of North Wales in the last year of William III, last of the male line of Nanney of Nanney; Sir Griffith Jeffreys, Knight, of Acton, nephew of Judge Jeffreys; Sir William Glynne, Baronet, M.P. for county Carnarvon 1659-60; John Pugh, of Mathafarn, Montgomeryshire, who was M.P. for county Cardigan 1705-8, and for county of Montgomery in five Parliaments, 1708-27; John Wynne, of Melai, Denbighshire, M.P. for Denbigh 1713; William Price, of Rhiwlas; Robert Coytmore, of Coytmore, Carnarvonshire; William Wynne, of Wern, in the same county, grandfather of the present Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, of Peniarth; John Williams, younger son of Sir William Williams, first Bart. of Glascoed, who was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1679-81; Hugh Williams, eldest son of the above-mentioned John Williams, who was M.P. for Anglesey 1725-34; Robert Sontley, of Sontley, an ancient Denbighshire family; William Robinson, a descendant of the distinguished Royalist, Colonel Robinson, of Gwersyllt; Ellis Yonge, of Bryn Yorkyn, a "descendant of the fertile stock of Tudor Trevor"; The Salesburys of Rûg; William Mostyn, of Rhyd, Flintshire, a younger son of the house of Mostyn, and one of the children of Sir Roger Mostyn; and Henry Foulkes, Principal of the College, 1817-1858.

South Wales is represented by a larger number of gifts by several notable families, among them being, Sir Thomas Mansell, fourth Baronet, created Baron Mansell of Margam in 1712; Sir John Aubrey, third Baronet, of Llantrythydd, M.P. for Cardiff, 1706-10; Lewis Wogan, of Boulston, Pembrokeshire, "great grandson of the last Sir John Wogan", who sat for the Pembroke borough in the Par-

liaments of 1710¹ and 1713; Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, several members of whose family had been at Jesus College; Richard Stedman, of Strada Florida, a name which has long disappeared from Cardiganshire; Lewis Pryse, of Gogerddan; Morgan Herbert, of Havod-ych-dryd, Cardiganshire; Edmund Jones, of Buckland, Brecon; Thomas Button, of Cottrell; Charles Walbieoffe, of Llanhamlech; Sir Roger Lort, of Stackpoole; Sir George Kemeys; John Games, of Newton, Brecon, descendant of Sir David Gam; Oliver St. John, of Hylight, Glamorganshire; Griffith Rice, of Newton, Carmarthenshire, Member of Parliament for the county of Carmarthen 1701-10, an ancestor of Lord Dynevor; Charles Matthews, the last male owner of Castell-y-mynach, who, with the present Viscount Llandaff, descended from Robert Mathew, *temp.* Henry IV, who, by his wife, Alice, acquired Castell-y-mynach, and founded the line of Mathew of Castell-y-mynach; George Howell, of Bovill, Glamorganshire; Robert Jones, of Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan, a grandson of Colonel Philip Jones, who is said to have purchased this estate by the large wealth accumulated through the liberality of the Protector; James Philipps, of Pentipark, Pembrokeshire; Sir John Stepney; Roger Oates, of Keven-tilly; and John Bruce Bruce, grandfather of the present Lord Aberdare. It will be seen that amongst the English donors are Sir Edward Sebright, who was murdered near Calais on the 20th September 1723, and a monument there erected; Sir Thomas Sanders Sebright, fifth Baronet, M.P. for Herefordshire in four Parliaments, 1715-1736; Sir

¹ In 1710 Lewis Wogan succeeded on petition in proving that the Mayor and Burgesses of the ancient borough of Wiston had a right to vote in the Borough election. He married Katherine, daughter of James Phillips, of Cardigan Priory, and of the famous "Orinda". (Owen's *Old Pembroke Families*.)

Edward Nevil; Sir Atwill Lake, Baronet; and John Robinson Lytton, of Knebworth, Hertfordshire.

I make no claim to accuracy in my description of the arms engraved on the various pieces of silver; the absence of tinctures in many cases, and partial obliteration of others, render such a task impossible.

Special mention should be made of the large Bowls with covers, the two silver-gilt gallon Tankards, and the enormous Punch Bowl,¹ as being very fine examples of their kind.

THE CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE, AND CANDLESTICKS.

The Chapel, nearing completion under Principal Griffith Powell (1613-20), was finished during the Principalship of Sir Eubule Thelwall (1621-30), and was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford on the 28th May 1621. No records are extant in proof of the existence of Sacramental Plate at the time of the consecration, though vessels of some kind were probably in use shortly afterwards, for, under a rent-charge, left in 1622 by Sir Thomas Canon, a native of Haverfordwest, the sum of ten shillings was to be paid to "one of the Divines of the Colledge for a sermon to be preached at the annual distribution of the increased diett, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of our blessed Saviour shall be then and there celebrated by the Principall and Vice-Principall, and all the Fellowes, Schollars, and Students".

¹ There is a tradition in the College that whoever can fairly span the Bowl at its widest part with his arms acquires the right of having it filled with punch, and then if he can perform the second feat of draining the bowl, he may walk away with it, presumably if he can walk at all.—(*History of Jesus College*, by E. G. Hardy.) The Bowl doubtless occupied a prominent position in the days when the feast of St. David was celebrated in the College.

Whether the silver Communion Plate, if such existed, went with the secular plate to replenish the coffers of Charles the First, it is impossible to say, though the King appears to have had sufficient reverence for the sanctity of such vessels, as is to some extent proved by the existence to-day, at other Colleges at Oxford, of practically all their pre-Civil War Communion Plate.

The general form of the Chalice, and especially its peculiarly Elizabethan strapwork decoration, suggest that the older Chalice had probably been damaged beyond repair, and therefore the silversmith of 1661, either by instructions or on his own initiative, followed the lines of the original as closely as possible. The Chalice is the oldest piece of plate, ecclesiastical or secular, in the possession of the College. The shape and style of the Flagon are also of an earlier date than its marks denote.

The history of the "Altar Candlesticks" is explained by the following extract from the *Book of Benefactions* :—

"The Right Honourable Benjamin Parry, Privy Counsellor and Register of Deeds in Ireland, bequeath'd the sum of Forty pounds to purchase a piece of Plate for the Altar, mentioning in his Will that this Legacy is in Gratitude for the kind Reception and Treatment his Uncles (both of whom were afterwards Bishops in Ireland), met with in this College during the Troubles in Ireland, with which Money and eighteen Pon^{ds} given by the Rev^d. Thomas Pardo, D.D., the Worthy Principal of this College, a Large Pair of Silver Candlesticks were purchas'd for the Altar, A.D. 1736."

One of the two uncles referred to was John Parry, incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1650, and elected a Fellow of Jesus about the same time. In 1662 he became Canon of York, and Chaplain to Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Appointed Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, in 1661, he was made Bishop of Ossory in 1672. "He was a learned man, and the author of several books and published sermons."

The other was Benjamin Parry, a younger brother, who also migrated to Oxford from Dublin, and entered Jesus College, graduating B.A. from it in 1651. In 1660 he became a Fellow of Corpus, and Greek reader there. Like his brother, however, he sought and gained preferment in his own country, becoming Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, the Viceroy, in 1672, and subsequently succeeding his brother in the Bishopric of Ossory.

The other part-donor of the Candlesticks was the Rev. Thomas Pardo, D.D., a native of Kidwelly, Carmarthen-shire, and Principal of the College from 1727 till his death in 1763.

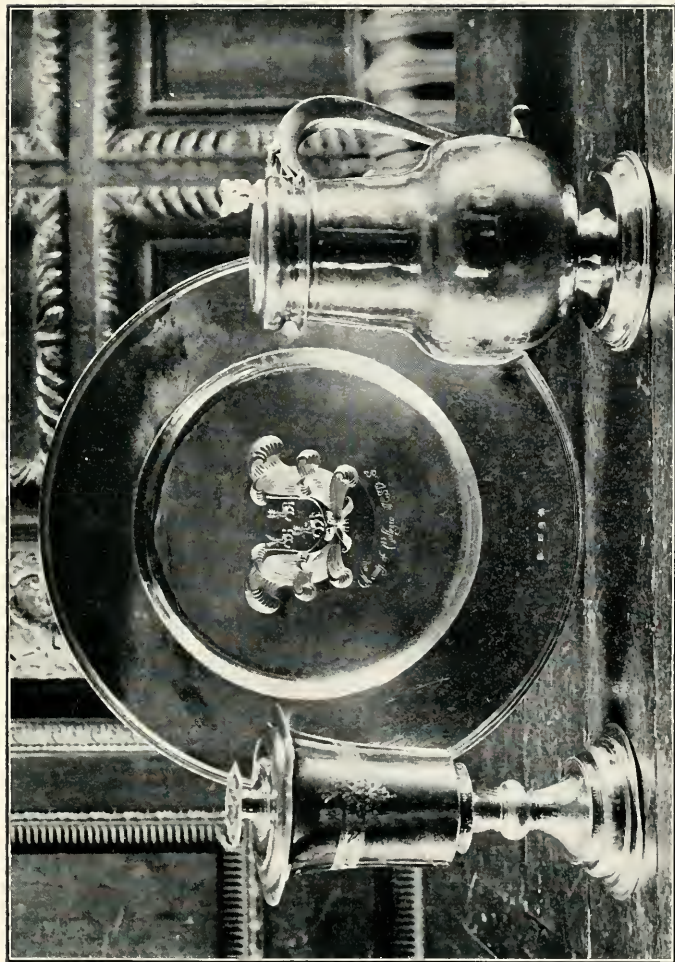
Apparently these candlesticks, which are copies of late seventeenth century Italian candlesticks, were made up from other things, for the upper part of the stem bears a mutilated hall mark for the year 1709, and the lower part for 1736, while the tripod base is lacking in marks of any description.

The discrepancy between the date of the gift of the Silver Paten and that of the hall mark is explained by the transformation of the original gift, a Salver, into this Paten. The donor, Hugh Williams, was M.P. for Anglesey, 1725-34.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

THE CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE AND CANDLESTICKS.

(1.) Silver-gilt Chalice, with Paten cover. The body of Chalice is engraved with a band of interlaced strap work. Its stem is divided by a knop. On the foot of Chalice, as well as on foot of the Paten cover, is engraved a circle of laurel leaves. Its decoration also consists of



To face p. 94.

CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE.

Chalice, with Paten Cover.
1661.

Alms Dish.
1667.

Flagon.
1673.

an ovolo moulding. The Chalice is inscribed underneath the foot: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. 1662. The foot of Paten is engraved with the College arms in scroll mantling, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

London date-letter for year 1661. Maker's mark, R.A., above a rose and two pellets, in heart-shape shield. Chalice, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high. Diameter of mouth, 5 ins. Paten-cover, $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high.

(2.) Large, plain, silver-gilt Alms Dish, inscribed: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. The College arms are engraved thereon.

London date-letter for 1667. Maker's mark, I.G., with star between, and a crescent underneath, in heart-shape shield. Diameter, $18\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(3.) A large, plain, silver-gilt Flagon, the body globular, with narrowing neck, a flat domed lid; the thumb-piece is a winged cupid mask. The College arms are engraved on the body and the lid. The foot is inscribed: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S.

London date-letter for 1670. Maker's mark, W.D., above a rose between two pellets, in square-shape shield, 12 ins. high. Weight, 59 ozs. 5 dwts.

(4.) Plain, silver Paten, on truncated stem (not gilt), inscribed: DONO DEDIT HUGO WILLIAMS ARMIGER JOHANNIS WILLIAMS DE CIVITATE CESTRIENSI ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS, ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1715. The arms engraved are: *Two foxes counter salient in saltire.* Crest: *A demi fox.* The College arms are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1727. Maker's mark, R.G., in a heart-shape shield. Diameter, 10 ins. Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

(5.) A Soup Plate, silver-gilt, gadroon edge, used as a Paten.

London date-letter for 1770. Maker's mark, $\begin{smallmatrix} R \\ DS \\ S \end{smallmatrix}$ in quatrefoil. Weight, 18 ozs. 5 dwts.

(6.) A silver-gilt Chalice, of the "Tudor" type, with six-lobed and flowing feet, plain conical bowl, decorated knop in centre of stem, inscribed on foot: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. 1868. The sacred monogram is also engraved.

Height, $9\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Diameter of bowl, 5 ins. Made in 1868.

(7.) One pair of tall silver pricket Altar Candlesticks, on tripod bases, with cherubs issuing from the three corners. The stems are decorated with acanthus and palm leaves, raised flowers, and flutings; 25 in. high.

DOMESTIC PLATE.

BOWLS WITH COVERS.

(1.) A large one, of Porringer form, with two scroll handles, inscribed: D.D. THOMAS MANSELL D^NI EDWARDI MANSELL DE MARGAM IN COMITATU GLAMORGAN BARONETTI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET HUIUS COLL. ARCHI-COMENSALIS.

The Mansell arms are engraved with feather mantling: *Arg., a chevron between three manches sa., over all the badge of Ulster . . a sinister hand, couped at the wrist and apaumée . . Crest: A falcon rising.* The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON., and the date, 1685, are also engraved thereon.

The style of decoration is acanthus and water leaves with flat matted surfaces on the lower and upper parts, also along the rim of the cover. The acanthus leaf knob on the low domed cover rises from a leafed-star. The body rests on a low moulded foot.

London date-letter for 1684. Maker's mark, R C, with three pellets above and below, within a dotted and lined circle.

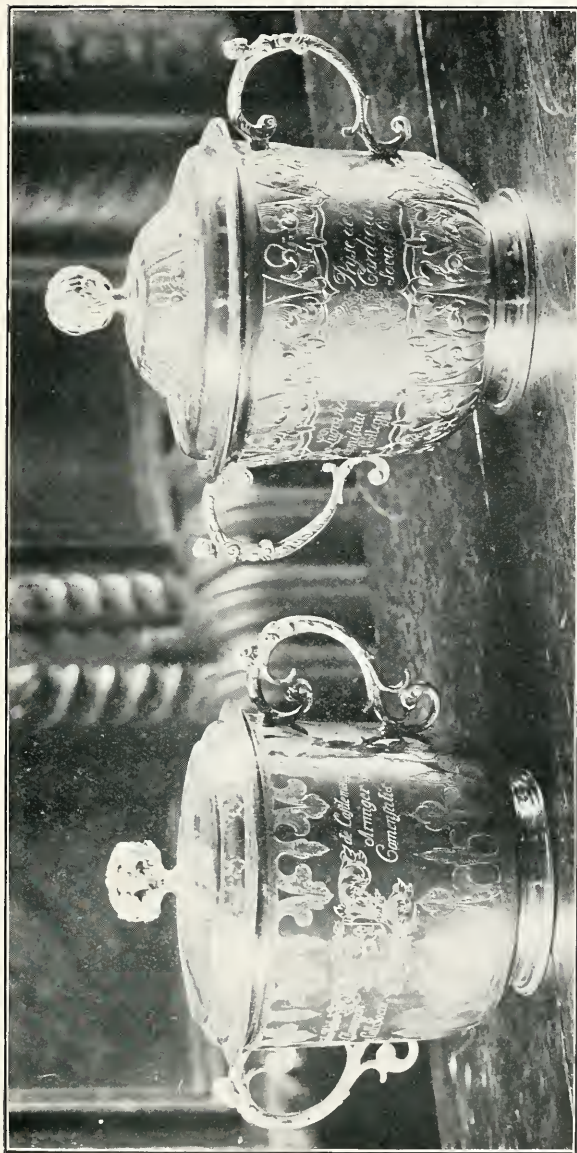


To face p. 92.

BOWL, OF PORRINGER FORM, WITH COVER.

(THOMAS MANSELL OF MARGAM.)

1684.



To face p. 93.

BOWLS, OF PORRINGER FORM, WITH COVERS.

Donor :

CHARLES MATTHEW OF CASTLEMENYCH.

1685.

Donor :

LEWIS PRYSE OF GOGERTHAN.

1709.

Height, with cover, and including knob, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; height, without cover, $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diameter, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; weight, 111 ozs. 14 dwts.

(2.) Another similar, but not quite so large, the handles scrolled, with female terms. Inscribed: EX DONO LUDOVICI PRYSE DE GOGERTHAN IN COMITATU CARDIGAN ARM. HUIJUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMENSALIS.

The arms, engraved in an oval shield with scroll mantling, are: *A lion rampant regardant*. The crest, on lid, is: *A lion, as in the arms, holding in its dexter paw a fleur-de-lys*.

The College arms and COLL. JESU are engraved on reverse side of the bowl.

London date-letter for 1709. Maker's mark, Pa, with vase above and pellet below (Humphrey Payne).

Height, with cover, and including knob, 10 ins.; height, without cover, 6 ins.; diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

(3.) Another, still smaller, the lower and upper part of body decorated with alternate acanthus and water leaves, in slight relief, on low moulded foot; scrolled female term handles; the domed cover is decorated with acanthus and palm leaves in slight relief, the knob is formed as a fruit in a calyx. Inscribed: D.D. CAROLUS MATTHEW DE CASTLEMENYCH IN COM. GLAMORGAN ARMIGER ET HUIJUS COLL. SOCIO-COMMENSALIS.

On the obverse are the arms, with feather mantling: . . *A lion rampant guardant* . . On reverse, the College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON. 1685.

The crest, on the lid, is a *moor cock*.

London date-letter for 1685. Maker's mark, same as No. 1.

Height, with cover and knob, $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; height, without cover, 6 ins.; diameter, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.

PUNCH BOWLS.

(1.) An enormous, plain, silver-gilt Punch Bowl, with moulded edge, inscribed, in one line, in bold roman capitals: D.D. WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN DE WYNNSTAY IN COM. DENBIGH, LL.D. OLIM HUIJUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1732.

The arms engraved are: 1 and 4, . . *Three eagles displayed in fess* . . (for Owen Gwynedd); 2 and 3, *Two foxes counter-salient in saltire* . . *the dexter surmounted of the sinister* (for Williams) *with an escutcheon en surtout, a chevron between three boars' heads coupéd impaling* . . *a buck* . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON. are engraved opposite.

Maker's mark, Wh. above star, and below a pellet, in a shield (John White). London date-letter for 1726.

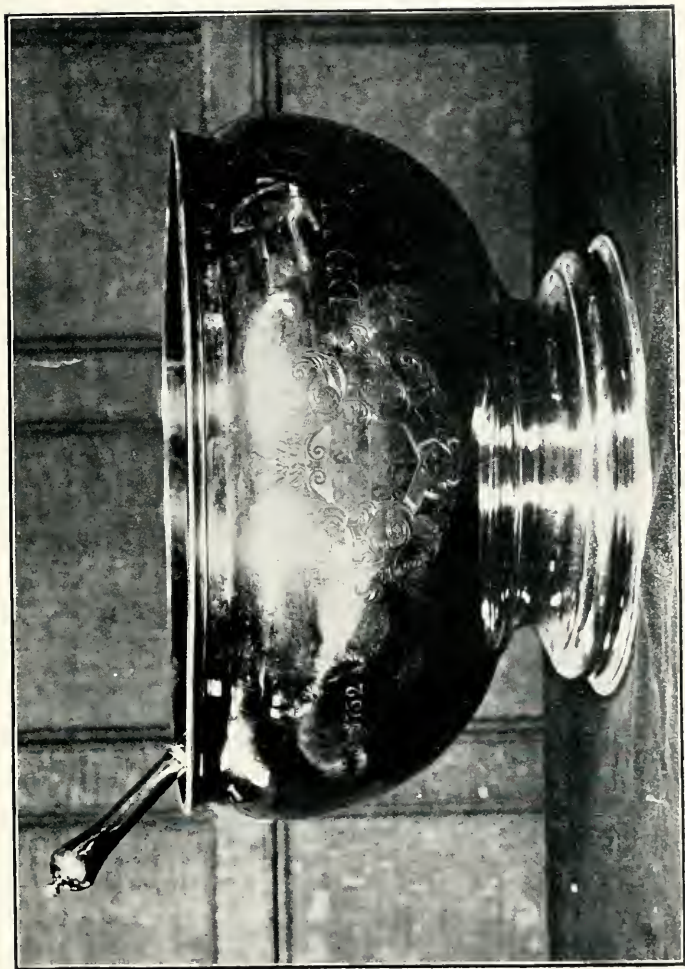
Height, $12\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diameter, $19\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; weight, 278 ozs. 17 dwts.

The silver-gilt punch ladle, which bears a similar inscription, has an oval bowl, with two mouldings, equidistant, on the tapered handle. The Wynn crest, *An eagle displayed*, is engraved on the handle.

Extract from *Book of Benefactions*:

"Watkin Williams Wynn, of Wynnstay, in the county of Denbigh, Esq., knight of the said shire, eldest son of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda, in the county of Salop, Baronet, sometime Gentleman-Commoner of this College, and afterw^d created LL.D., gave a large double gilt Bowl, wgt^t 278 ounces and 17 dwt., and a ladle, wgt^t 13 oz. 9 dwt. A.D. 1732."

(2.) A small, plain, Punch Bowl, narrowing towards the mouth. Inscribed in script lettering: D.D. GULIELMUS ROBINSON DE GWERSYLT IN COM. DENBIGH ARMIGER HUIJUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS, 1733, IN USUM SALÆ COMMUNIS.



To face p. 94.

PUNCH BOWL AND LADLE.

(SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.)

1726.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, arg. and gu., in the second and third quarters, A fret or, over all a fesse az.* Motto: FORS NON MUTAT GENUS. The College arms are also engraved.

Diameter, 10 ins. Made in the reign of George I. Maker's mark, I.E., with rose above (John Edwards). Weight 77 ozs. 8 dwts.

JUGS.

(1.) A plain quart jug, with globular body, and narrow neck, and with scroll handle, inscribed: D.D. CAWLEY HUMBERSTON CAWLEY DE GWERSYLT IN COM. DENBIGH ARMIGER HJUS COLL. PRIMO COMMENSALIS DEINDE SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1733 IN FESTA COMMENSALIIUM.

The arms engraved are: *Arg., three bars sa. in chief as many pellets,* for Humberston. Crest: *A griffin's head erased.* The College arms are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1732. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above.

Weight, 26 ozs. 2 dwts.

(2.) Another similar jug, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM IN REFECTORIO, 1749.

London date letter for 1749. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in an oval shield (John Swift).

Weight, 39 ozs. 8 dwts.

(3.) Another similar jug, inscribed: D.D. RICHARDUS LLOYD EDWARDI LLOYD DE ABERBECHAN IN COM. MONTGOM. ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET HJUS COLL. SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1732 IN USUM SALÆ COMMUNIS.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1, . . three cocks, . . ; 2, . . , a raven, . . ; 3, . . , a lion rampant, . . ; 4, . . , a lion sejant, . . .* Crest: *probably a raven.* The College arms also engraved.

London date-letter for 1732. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in an oval shield (John Swift).

Weight, 29 ozs. 2 dwts.

(4.) Another similar jug, but with a domed lid, on which is a depressed knob, the handle terminating in a "whistle". Inscribed in two lines, in script: D.D. THOMAS BUTTON DE COTTRELL, IN COMITATU GLAMORG. ARMIGER NEC NON HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS, A.D. 1717.

The arms, engraved in an oval shield with scroll mantling, are: 1, *Ermine, a fesse gu.*; 2, *arg., a lion rampant sa. ducally crowned, with a bordure az. bezantée*; 3 . . *three castles* . . ; 4, . . *a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys* . . Crest: *A chapeau gu. turned up ermine* (?).

London date-letter for 1717.

(5.) Another jug, plain, barrel-shape, inscribed: EX DONO NICOLAI ARNOLD IOANNIS ARNOLD DE LLANVIHANGEL-CRUCORNEL IN COMITATU MONMOUTH ARM. FILII UNICI ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMENSALIS.

The arms engraved are: *Gu., a chevron between three pheons* . . , *impaling arg. a chevron sa. between two roses*. Crest: *A demi-tiger, or demi-lion, holding in its paws a* . . . (?). The College arms, and JESU COLL. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1796. Maker's mark, H.C., in oval shield.

SALVERS.

One pair of plain, circular salvers, with shaped shell edges, inscribed: EX DONO LUDOVICI WOGAN DE BOULSTON IN COMIT. PEMBROCKIENS ARMIGERI ET SOCIO-COMENSALIS, A.D. 1662.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, . . on a chief sa. three martlets of the field*; 2, . . , *a chevron between three escallops* . . ; 3, . . , *three tuns*, . . ; together with the College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

Diameter, 10 ins. London date-letter for 1760. Maker's mark, R.R., in oblong shield.

(2.) Large square salver, with shaped corners, moulded rim, standing on four feet, inscribed, in script, in five lines :
D.D JOHANNES AUBREY ARMIGER, HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI-
COMMENSALIS, FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS JOHANNIS AUBREY DE
LLANTRYTHYD IN COMITAT GLAMORGAN ET BEARSTALE IN
COM. BUCKS, BARONETTI, ANNO DOMINI 1727.

The arms engraved are: . . *A chevron between three eagles' heads erased* . . . Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1728. Maker's mark, T.F., with star above and below, in quatrefoil (Thomas Ffarrar).
12¼ inches square. Weight, 51½ ozs.

(3.) One pair of small circular Salvers, with embossed floral border, on shell feet, inscribed, in script, in two lines :
D.D. LUD. MORGAN DE NEWPORT IN COM. MONUM. ARM. ET
HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSALIS.

The donor's arms, *A chevron between three pheons*, and his crest, *A griffin rampant*, together with the College arms, are engraved on each salver.

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, I.H., in oblong shield (probably John Harris). 7 ins. in diameter.

(4, 5.) Two large circular Salvers, with shaped beaded borders, the centre elaborately engraved with scrolls, etc. Inscribed :

COLLEGIUM JESU
OXON
D.D. CAROLUS WILLIAMS, S.T.P.
PRINCIPALIS
A.D. 1861.
IN USUM SOCIORUM.

The College arms are also engraved.

Diameters, 23 and 20 inches. London date-letter for 1858. Maker's mark, W.M., in oblong shield.

ENTREE DISHES.

A set of four Entrée Dishes and covers, shaped square, gadroon edges, engraved with donors' names, dates, and weights.

Owen Salisbury of Rûg, 1683 (78 ozs.).

William Glynn (34 ozs.).

Oliver St. John of Hylight, 1678 (30 ozs.).

Hugh Nanney of Nanney, 1660 (30 ozs.).

Griffith Jeffreys, Esq., of Acton, Denbighshire, 1678, (30 ozs.).

London date-letter for 1800. Maker's mark, I.P., with pellet between, in oval shield.

SAUCE BOATS.

(1.) Oval in shape, with two scrolled handles, and two spouts, moulded scalloped border, on foot. Inscribed, in four lines, in script: D.D GULIELMUS BRIGSTOCKE DE BLAEN Y PANT IN COMITATU CARDIGAN ARM: OLIM HJUS COLLEGII COMMENSALIS 1750.

On one side the Brigstocke arms are engraved: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *or*; 2, *sable*; 3, *argent*; *over all three escallops*. . Crest: *A demi-bird, holding in its sinister claw an escallop*. Motto: ΩΣ ΟΦΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΕΠΙΣΤΕΡΑ.

On opposite side, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1749. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in oval shield.

(2.) Another Sauce Boat, exactly similar, inscribed, in four lines, in script: D.D. ATWILL LAKE D^NI BIBYE LAKE DE MEDIO TEMPLE LONDINENSIS BARTHI FIL. NAT. MAX. ET HJUS COLLEGII SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1734.

On one side the Lake arms are engraved: *Quarterly*, 1st (for augmentation), *Gu.*, a *dexter arm embowed in armour issuing from the sinister side of the shield, holding in the hand a sword all ppr., thereto affixed a banner arg.*

bearing on a cross between sixteen escutcheons (the number of Sir Edward Lake's wounds at Naseby), of the first a lion passant-guardant or; 2nd, Sa., on a bend between six cross crosslets fitchée arg., a mullet of the field for difference; 3rd, Arg., a chevron between three boars' heads coupéd sa.; 4th, Quarterly, arg. and sa., on a bend of the last, three fleurs-de-lys of the first.

Crests: A cavalier in complete armour on a horse courant arg., in his dexter hand a sword embued, holding the bridle in his mouth, the sinister arm hanging down useless, round his body a scarf in bend gu. 2nd, A horse's head arg., charged with a fesse cottised gu.

Motto.—UN DIEU UN ROY UN COEUR.

(3.) One pair of plain Sauce Boats, with three "shell" feet, inscribed: EX DONO JOH GRIFFITH GUL GRIFFITH DE LLYNE IN COM. CARNARV. ARM. FILII UNICI ET HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSALIS.

The arms engraved on one side are: Quarterly, 1 and 4, . . on an escutcheon . . a lion rampant . . ; 2 and 3, . . a chevron between three dolphins.

On opposite side, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1757. Maker's mark, H.B., in script, in oblong shield (probably Hester Bateman).

(4.) Another pair, of similar shape, but smaller, with same inscription and arms. London date-letter for 1784.

(5.) One pair of Sauce Boats, beaded edge, on foot, inscribed: EX DON. GEO. HOWELLS, FIL. G. HOWELLS DI BOVILL COM. GLAM. ARM. Soc. COM. 1700.

London date-letter for 1785. Maker's mark, H.B., in script in oblong shield (probably Hester Bateman).

SOUP TUREENS.

(1.) Oval in form, with gadroon edge, floral claw feet, with two shaped and beaded handles. A pine-apple knob

on lid, the edge of lid fluted. Inscribed: D.D. HONORATISSIMUS DOMINUS DOMINUS THOMAS JACOBUS BULKELEY VICECOMES BULKELEY, A.M. & HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI COMMENSALIS 1777.

Arms: . . *A chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed arg.* (for Bulkeley); *impaling, quarterly, 1 and 4, chequy or and az. On a canton gules a lion rampant arg.* (for Warren); 2 and 3, . . *on a chevron . . between three cross crosslets of the field a bordure . .* (for Revel). *Supporters, two bulls . . armed and unguled . . collared dancette . . a Viscount's coronet.* Motto: NEC TEMERE NEC TIMIDE.

London date-letter for 1776. Maker's mark, J.L., with pellet between, in oblong shield.

Weight, 118 ozs. 9 dwts.

In the Principal's Lodgings is a portrait of Viscount Bulkeley, on the frame of which is inscribed: QUI VIR EGREGIUS VAS ARGENTEUM PRETIOSUM DONAVIT, CAPELLAM PULCHERRIMA TABULA ORNAVIT ET BIBLIOTHECAM LIBRIS LÛCUPLETAVIT.

(2.) Oval in form, with shaped shell and gadroon edge, and shaped scrolled and shelled handles, springing from an applied decoration of scrolls and shells. The feet similarly decorated. The knob on the lid is a large fruit with applied spreading leaves. Engraved on body and lid: COLL JESU OXON. London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield (probably William Caldecott).

This tureen appears to have been purchased by the College authorities.

TABLE CANDLESTICKS AND CANDELABRUM, etc.

(1.) One pair tall Candlesticks, with baluster stems, on hexagonal bases, gadroon edges, and six applied shells on the bases. Inscribed in roman capitals, along bottom edge:

D.D. CAROLUS LLOYD DE MAES-Y-FELIN IN COM. CARDIGAN ARMIGER HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS, A^{NO} D^{NI} 1681.

The arms engraved are: *Sa., a spear head between three scaling ladders arg., on a chief gu., a tower triple-towered of the second.*

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high. Weight, 49 ozs. 19 dwts.

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, J.A., in script in oblong shield (Jonathan Alleine).

(2.) Another similar pair, inscribed: D.D. GUL. WYNNE DE WERN IN COM. ARVONÆ ARM. A.M. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS IN USUM SALÆ COMMUNIS COLL. JESU OXON. 1767.

The arms are almost wholly obliterated, but the crest is a boar.

London date-letter for 1766. Maker's mark, W.C., in Old English capitals, with rose above (probably William Cafe).

(3.) One pair, with baluster stems, inscribed: D.D. JOH. PUGH, FIL. NAT. MAX. GUL' PUGH DE MATHAFARN IN COM. MONTG. 1699.

Arms: *Gu., a lion passant between three fleurs-de-lys.*

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, I.A., in script in oblong shield (Jonathan Alleine). Height, 8 ins. Weight, 38 ozs. 17 dwts.

(4.) Another pair, exactly similar, inscribed: D.D. JACOBUS PHILIPPS, S.T.P., DE CARMARTHEN OLIM HUIUS COLLEGII COMMENSALIS, 1743.

Arms: . . *a lion rampant . . ducally gorged . .*

London date-letter for 1741. Maker's mark, W.G., in Old English capitals in oblong shield (Wm. Garrard). Weight, 36 ozs. 5 dwts.

(5.) Set of four Candlesticks, Ionic pillars, inscribed: COLL. JESU OXON. D.D. JACOBUS R. THURSFIELD, SOC. PROC. IUN, ANNO 1875-6.

London date-letter for 1778. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield. Height, 12 ins.

(6.) Set of four Candlesticks, circular bases and baluster stems, inscribed: JOHN WYNNE ESQ., OF MELAY, DENBIGHS. 1704, and COLL. JESU OXON.

Sheffield date-letter for 1817.

CANDELABRUM.

A Candelabrum of three lights, standing on a shaped circular base, with six panels of formal flowers in repoussé; baluster stem, similarly decorated; the sockets and nozzles decorated with leaves and flowers. Inscribed, on rim of base, COLL. JESU. OXON. IN USUM SOCIORUM, D.D. CAROLUS WILSON HEATON, S.T.B. SOCIUS NECNON ACADEMIE PROCURATOR 1859.

Sheffield date-letter for 1852. Makers' marks, $\frac{TJ}{NC}$ in square shield. 19 ins. high.

FRUIT STAND AND CANDELABRUM COMBINED.

With four branches, standing on a square base, with four feet; the centre circular in form; highly decorated with fruits, leaves, flowers, etc., in repoussé; gadroon edges. No inscription.

Modern Birmingham mark.

CRUET FRAMES.

(1.) Containing three silver castors and two glass bottles. One of the castors bears this inscription: DONO DEDIT JOHANNES LLOYD GUALTERI LLOYD DE PATERNELL IN COM. CARDIGAN ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET COLLEGII SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1738. The arms engraved are: *A lion rampant regardant*, and the College arms.

London date-letter for 1777. Maker's mark, S.W., in oval shield (probably Samuel Wintle). Total weight, 51 ozs. 2 dwts.

(2.) Containing two silver castors and one glass bottle. The frame inscribed: D.D. EDV. STRADLING DE CASTRO S^{TI} DONATI IN COM. GLAMORGAN BAR^T, 1660.

The arms engraved are: *Paly of eight arg. and az. on a bend gu., three cinquefoils . .* The College arms, and COLL. JES. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1770. Maker's mark, R.P., in oblong shield.

(3.) Another, with two silver castors and one glass bottle. The frame inscribed: EX DONO THOMAS GLYNNE DE GLYNNE-NANTLEY IN COMITATU CARNARVON ARM. ET SOCIO COMMENS. HUIUS COLLEGII 1658.

The arms engraved on frame are: 1 and 4, . . *A double eagle displayed . .*; 2 and 3, . . *three bands raguly . . fixed ppr.*

The two silver castors in this frame are engraved with this inscription: E. DONIS IOHANNIS WYNNE, A.M. HUIUS COLLEGII SOCII IN USUM SOCIORUM 1726; and with these arms: *Arg., six bees volant, three, two, and one, sa.*

London date-letter for 1762. Maker's mark, R.P., in oblong shield. Total weight, 37 ozs. 16 dwts.

CASTORS.

(1.) A set of three, one large and two smaller, vase shape, a moulded band surrounding lower part of body, standing on low spreading moulded feet. Each inscribed in three lines in Roman capitals: D.D. THO. ELLIS DE WERN IN COMITAT CARNARVON ARMIG^R ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO COMENSALIS ANNO DOM 1708.

The Ellis arms are also engraved: *Quarterly, 1, sa., a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys; 2, gu., a chevron between three bucks' heads erased; 3, gu., a chevron ermine between three Saxons' heads coupéd at the neck ppr.; 4, or, a lion rampant regardant sa.*

The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON, are engraved above the inscription.

London date-letter for 1708. Maker's mark, B.O., with fleur-de-lys in trefoil shield (probably John Bodington).

SNUFF BOX.

Oblong Snuff Box, ornamentally engraved, inscribed :
CAM. COM. COLLEGIJ JESU OXON. D.D. CAROLUS MILLS
SKOTTOWE, A.M. HUIJUSCE COLL. SOCIUS. MDCCCLI.

The Skottowe arms : *Per fess or and az., a mullet of eight points counterchanged* ; and the College arms, are engraved.

Of Victorian date.

CAKE BASKET.

Oval shape, pierced, the border decorated with chased satyrs' masks, flowers, scrolls, shells, etc. The body inside similarly decorated. Inscribed : D.D. ELLIS YONGE ARM.
DE ACTON COM. DENB. OLIM HUIJUS COLLEGIJ SOCIO COMMENSALIS, 1762.

The arms are : (?) *Per bend sinister . . a lion rampant . .*
The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON., are also engraved on the basket.

London date-letter for 1740. Maker's mark, L.D., in script, with crown above. Weight, 59 ozs. 15 dwts.

DECANTER STANDS.

A set of four, repoussé with formal flowers and scrolls ; wooden bottoms. Inscribed : "D.D. IN USUM SOCIORUM HENRICUS FOULKES, D.D. PRINCIPALIS 1818.
Sheffield mark. Makers, F. and T.S.

COFFEE POT.

A plain, cylindrical, Coffee Pot, sloping gradually from the top to the foot, on a low moulded foot, the spout with shell-like decoration.

Below the spout is inscribed : D.D. ROBERTUS WYNNE FILIUS UNICUS ROBERTI WYNNE DE GARTHMEILLO IN COMITATU DENBIGH ARMIGIERI ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS. Above the spout, COLL. JESU OXON 1744.

On obverse is engraved the Wynne arms : *Arg., six bees volant, three, two, and one, sa.*; on reverse, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1744. Maker's mark, J.S., in old English capitals in oval shield.

DISH ON A STAND.

A large, flat silver Dish, of circular form, moulded edge, on a stand. Inscription engraved in script in one line: D.D. JOHANNES STEPNEY ARM. FILIUS UNICUS D. THO. STEPNEY BAR^{TI} DE LLANELLY IN COM. MANDUNENSI HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS, A.D. 1714.

Engraved in the centre are the arms: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, gu., a fess chequy or and az., between three owls arg., in the first quarter, the Ulster hand, the badge of the Baronets, in pretence (for Stepney); 2 and 3, arg., a chevron sa. between three ravens ppr. on an escutcheon of pretence or, a lion rampant. . . Crest: A talbot's head erased gu., eared or, gorged with a collar chequy, or and az., in his mouth a buck's horn of the second.* And the College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

London date-letter for 1713. Maker, probably Simon Pantin. Diameter, 12½ inches. Height, 3 inches; weight, 44 ozs. 16 dwts.

SMALL OBLONG TRAY.

An oblong Tray, beaded edge, with two beaded handles, with flat under-trays. Inscribed: D.D. TURNER EDWARDS, B.C.L. DE TALGARTH, COM. MERIONETH. E. COLL. JESUS SOCIO COMMENSALIS, 1787.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, or and gu., in each quarter a lion passant guardant counterchanged. Crest: A lion passant guardant.*

London date-letter for 1787. Maker's mark, C.A., in oblong shield. Length 15 ins. with handles, 11½ ins. without; 7¼ ins. wide.

SNUFFER TRAYS.

(1.) A Snuffer-Tray, boat shape, beaded edge, inscribed: D.D. JOH. AUBREY ARM. 1669.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly 1 and 4, . . a chevron between three eagles' heads erased . . (for Aubrey); 2 and 3, . . a chevron between three maunches (for Mansell); in pretence, the Ulster badge, a sinister hand, coupéd at the wrist and appaumée; over all, a label of three points. .* The College arms, and COLL. JES. are also engraved. With this tray is a pair of Snuffers.

London date-letter for 1783. Maker's mark, C.H., in oblong shield. Weight of both, 8 ozs. 17 dwts.

(2.) Another Snuffer Tray, shaped edge, with shell corners, engraved with College arms, and COLL. JESU; also date, 1770, on handle.

London date-letter for 1753; made by John Cape. The Snuffers have disappeared.

GALLON TANKARDS.

(1.) Silver-gilt gallon Tankard, of cylindrical form, with flat lid and pierced thumb-piece; "rat-tail" on handle, which terminates in a whistle. Inscribed in a scroll: EX DONO D^{NI} EDVARDI SEBRIGHT DE BESFORD IN COMITATU WIGORNIENSI BARO^{NI} ATQ. HUIUS COLL. ARCHI. COM. Engraved on the body are the Sebright arms with feather mantling . . *Three cinquefoils, . . over all the badge of Ulster . . a sinister hand coupéd at the wrist and appaumée.*



To face p. 106.

SILVER-GILT GALLON TANKARDS.

Donor:
EDWARD SEBRIGHT OF BESFORD.
1685.

Donor:
THOMAS SANDERS-SEBRIGHT OF BESFORD.
1710.



Crest: *An heraldic tiger sejant . . maned and crowned . .*
On the lid are engraved the College arms, and J.C.

Maker's mark, I.C., above star, in cinquefoil shield;
London date-letter for 1685 (first year of James II).
Weight, 80 ozs. 12 dwts.

(2.) Another Tankard, exactly similar, inscribed: EX
DONO HONORATIS^{NI} D^{NI} THOMÆ-SANDERS SEBRIGHT DE BES-
FORD IN COM. WIGORN. BARO. HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI.
COMMENSALIS ET ARTIUM MAGISTRI, A.D. 1710.

The Sebright arms are engraved in a circular scrolled
shield on the body. The College arms, and COLL. JESU
Oxon, are engraved on the lid.

Maker's marks and date-letter indistinct. This Tankard
was, however, made about 1709. Weight, 81 ozs. 4 dwts.

(3.) A gallon Tankard, cylindrical and tapering, with a
moulded rim surrounding lower part of body, and with
a short, slightly-spreading, moulded base. The handle,
which is attached to the body by a flat, open-work
decoration, is scrolled, and terminates in a shield-whistle,
on which is a lion's mask. The thumb-piece is a lion
couchant, on the handle is a "rat-tail". The cover is flat,
slightly domed. In centre of the body is the arms: . . .
Two bars between, in chief two, and in base one, annulet . . ?
field ermine and bars azure. Crest: *A demi-bird (? falcon),*
and this inscription: LEGATUM CAROLI HARRIS GEN. HUIUS
COLL SENESCHALLI, A.D. 1713.

The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved on lid.
London date-letter for 1713.

(4.) Another Tankard, exactly similar, inscribed on
body: DONO DEDIT D^{NUS} JOHANNES AUBREY DE LANTRYTHYD
IM COMIT. GLAMORGAN BAR^{TUS} HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHICO-
MENSALIS. ANNO D^{NI} 1701.

The arms engraved above the inscription are: *Az., a*
chevron between three eagles' heads erased or; over all, the

badge of Ulster. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved on cover.

London date-letter for 1701. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between (for Joseph Ward).

QUART TANKARDS, WITH LIDS.

(1.) Cylindrical in form, with sloping straight sides, and with domed lid; a moulding surrounding the lower part of body. Scrolled handle, with whistle end. Inscribed, in four lines: D.D. GEORGIUS DALE DE FLAGG IN COM. DERBIENSI ARMIGER ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1680.

On obverse are engraved the Dale arms, *A swan or goose*; on reverse, the College arms; on lid, COLL. JESU.

London date-letter for 1728. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above (for Edward Pocock).

(2.) A similar Tankard, inscribed: HOC MUNUSCULUM QUAECUNQUE IN GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIUM; SOCIIS. DE COLL. JESU OPTIME MERENTIBUS. D.D. JOHN BRUCE BRUCE DE DYFFRYN, COM. GLAMORGAN. JUNII 10, 1834. WELLINGTON INAUGURATO.

The arms engraved are: *Per pale or and arg., a saltire and a chief gu. on a canton ermine a spur . . Crest: A lion passant . . charged with four mullets . . holding in its mouth a spur.* Motto, FUIBUS. Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield.

(3.) Another similar Tankard, inscribed: D.D. RIC. GODDEN, DE CIVITATE LONDON ARM. ET HUIUS COLL. SOC. COM. 1675.

The Godden arms are also engraved: *Gu., two bars or, over all a bend arg. charged with three talbots' heads, erased, sa.* Crest: *On a garb, lying fesseways, a bird close,*

in his beak an ear of wheat, all or. The College arms are engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1742. Maker's mark, R.J., in script, in shaped shield.

(4.) Another, similar, inscribed: D.D. GEORGIUS WILLIAMS, JOHANNIS WILLIAMS DE ABERCOTHY IN COM. CARMARTHEN. ARM: FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS COLLEGII COMMENSALIS 1685.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *ermine, a fesse gu., in chief a lion passant*; 2 and 3, *on a fesse . . between three birds . . a chevronel*. The College arms are engraved on body, and COLL. JES. OXON on lid.

London date-letter for 1762. Maker's mark, J.S., in black letter capitals, in an oval shield (for John Swift).

(5.) Another, inscribed: D.D. IO. LLOYD DE RHYWEDOG IN COM. MERIONETH ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSAL. Arms: *An eagle displayed . . Crest: the same*.

The College Arms, and COLL. JESU OXON, are engraved on the lid.

London date-letter for 1717. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between, in shield (for Joseph Ward).

(6.) Another, cylindrical, with straight slightly sloping sides, and fluted slightly-domed cover, inscribed: D.D. ROBERTUS JONES DE FUNMUN CASTLE IN COMITAT GLAMORG. ARMIGER ET COLLEGII JESU OXON ARCHI COMMENSALIS ANNO DOM 1702. Arms on body: *A chevron between three spear heads ppr., the points embrued*. Crest: *A dexter cubit arm in armour grasping a spear*. The College arms are engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1705. Maker, Seth Lofthouse.

(7.) Another quart Tankard, similar to No. 1, inscribed: D.D. JOHANNES WALTERS DE BRECON ARM. HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIS COMMENSALIS, 1701.

(8.) Another, inscribed: EX DONO ROB^{TI} COYTMOR FILII

NATU MAXIMI GEORGII COYTMORDE COYTMOR IN COM CARNARVON ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1713.

(9.) Another, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BATTELARIORUM, 1763, and with College arms engraved. On lid is engraved COLL. JESU OXON.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, J.S., in black letter capitals in oval shield (for John Swift).

(10.) Another, with College arms engraved on body, and the lid inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIUM, 1777.

London date-letter for 1777. Maker's mark, J.L., in oblong shield (John Lavis).

(11.) Another, similar, and by same maker, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BATTELARIORUM.

(12.) Another, with College arms on body, and COLL. JESU OXON engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1743. Maker's mark, R.B., in script, in shaped shield (Richard Bayley).

(13.) Another, similarly engraved, but the inscription reading: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BACCALAURCORUM, 1777.

Marks as No. 10.

(14.) Another, but the body is "bellied". Inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM ARTIUM BACCALAURCORUM 1765. College arms on body; COLL. JESU OXON. on lid.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, I.M., with star between, in oblong shield (Jacob Marshe).

(15.) Another, plain, with straight sloping sides, and a flat domed lid. Inscribed: EX DONO ET IN USUM COMMENSALIUM. The College arms are engraved on the body.

London date-letter for 1709; the lid added in 1759.

QUART TANKARDS, WITHOUT LIDS.

(1.) Plain, cylindrical, inscribed: EX DONO CAROLI WALBEIF FILII UNICI CAROLI WALBEIF DE LLANHAMLECH

IN COM. BRECON ARMIG. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMENSALIS, 1661. Arms: *Three bulls statant*; Crest: *A bull statant*. The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

Maker's mark, G.S., in oblong shield (probably George Smith). London date-letter for 1726.

(2.) Another, similar, with same marks, inscribed: EX DONO ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM, 1707. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved.

(3.) Another, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM IN REFECTORIO, 1749. College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

London date-letter for 1735. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above (Edward Pocock).

(4.) Another, inscribed: E. DONO THOMÆ JACKSON FILII UNICI STEPHANI JACKSON DE COULING IN AGRO EBORACENSI ARMIGERI, A.D. 1654.

The arms engraved are: . . *On a chevron . . between three hawks' heads erased . . as many cinquefoils.* . Crest: *A horse courant*. Motto: VIRTUTI QUASI AD SALVAN ANCHORAU. The College arms, with COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1726. Maker's mark, G.S., with a vase below, in shaped shield (for Gabriel Sleath).

CUPS WITH COVERS.

(1.) A tall cup and cover, with two scrolled handles, the centre of body surrounded by a moulded rim and repoussé with flowers, scrolls, grapes, etc.; the domed lid similarly decorated, with a vine-decorated knob; the foot chased. Inscribed on the foot: D.D. JOANNES ROBINSON LYTTON DE KNEBWORTH IN COMITATU HERTFORDIENSI LL.D. IN USUM SOCIORUM 1746.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, a fret or,*

over all a fesse az.; 2 and 3, ermine on a chief indented, az. three ducal coronets, or (for Lytton); over all, arg., two bars sa. (for Brereton). Motto: FORS NON MUTAT GENUS: Crest: A falcon rising (?). The College arms, and COLLEGIUM JESU OXON are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1749. Marker's mark, R.B., in script, with crown above. Height, including cover and knob, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; height, without cover, 9 ins.; diameter, 7 ins. Weight, 95 ozs. 8 dwts.

(2.) Tall Cup with cover, chased and embossed with classical subjects: (1) A young female figure, perhaps sacrificing at an altar, two doves below her; (2) the toilet of Venus; (3) a Seilenos riding an Ass, a Bacchante holding a cornucopia and crowning the Seilenos, who has his left arm encircled round another Bacchante, walking; (4) two Bacchic genii with branches of vines, a basket, etc.; (5) the scrolled handles with female terms are connected by vines with lower part of body; (6) standing on the circular base are two animals, perhaps a bull and a goat; (7) on the domed lid sits young Bacchus. In the two compartments (divided by scrolls) on the lid are (1) Pan, (2) a Bacchus. Inscribed along rim of foot: D.D. JOHANNES SYMONS DE LANGENNACH IN AGRO MARIDUM ARMIGER, A.M. R.SS. A.S.S. OLIM COLLEGII JESU OXON, SOCIO COMMENSALIS, MDCCCII. The College arms are engraved.

Made in 1763 by Wakelin and Garrard, London, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, without cover; the cover, including the figure, is $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high; diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

The donor was Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1804.

CUPS.

(1.) One of cylindrical form, with scrolled handles and domed cover; height $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; with cover, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diameter $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; on short low foot. A moulded rim surrounds the



Four Candlesticks.

Donor:
J. R. THURSFIELD.
1778.

Tankard.

1743.

Symons Cup.

1763.

Fox-head Cup.

1774.

Jug with cover.

1717.

THOMAS BUTTON.

R. HOARE JENKINS.

centre of body. Inscribed in script, in three lines: DONO DEDIT MORGAN DEANE, ARM. FILIUS LONDINENSIS HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1714.

On the obverse are engraved the Deane arms, in an oval shield, with scroll mantling: *Argent, on a chevron gu. between three birds sa., as many crosses coupé or, impaling . . a griffin segreant sa.* On the reverse are engraved the College arms, and COLL. JESU. Maker's mark, Pa, with vase above, pellet below, in shaped shield (for Humphrey Payne). London date-letter for 1713.

(2.) Small silver-gilt cup in the form of a fox's head, inscribed: D.D. R. HOARE JENKINS DE PANTYNAUEL IN COM. GLAMORGAN. ARM. SOC. COM. IN USUM BACCALAURICORUM MAY 13TH, 1799.

The arms engraved are: . . *Three game cocks* . . Crest: *A game cock* . . Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1774.

A similar cup is at Trinity College.

BEAKERS.

(1.) Two small Beakers, "bellied" shaped, on low moulded feet, inscribed: D.D. R. OTES DE KEVENTILLY IN COM. MONMOUTH. ARM. SOC. COM. 1658.

The arms, engraved on both, are: . . *A chevron gu. between three garbs . . impaling . . on a chevron . . between three pheons.* The College arms, with COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1773. Maker's mark, I.D., with pellet between, in oblong shield (probably John Darwall).

(2.) Another Beaker, exactly similar, same date and maker, inscribed: D.D. R. SONTLEY DE SONTLEY IN COM. DENBIGH ARM. SOC. COM. 1666.

The arms engraved are: *Ermine a lion rampant* . . The College arms are also engraved.

TANKARDS.

Holding about One-and-a-half Pints.

(1.) Cylindrical in form, with domed lid, inscribed : D.D. EDMUNDUS EVANS LL.D. DE GRAIGIN COM. MONTGOMERY. HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMENSAL. The College arms engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1717. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between (Joseph Ward).

(2.) Another, slightly smaller, inscribed : D.D. DANIEL WILLIAMS DE PENPONT IN COM. BRECON ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMENSAL. The College arms on lid. Arms: . . *A chevron between three bulls' heads* . .

Same date-letter and maker's marks.

PINT MUGS.

Three plain pint Mugs, cylindrical, with straight sloping sides, inscribed : E. DONIS IACOBI PHILIPPS DE PENTIPARCK IN COMITATU PEMBROKIE ARMIGERI ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS IN USUM SALE COMMUNIS.

The arms engraved are: *A lion rampant*, . . *ducally gorged and chained* . . , together with the arms of Jesus College.

London date-letter for 1731, made by Thomas Ffarrer of "Swithing" Lane.

(2.) Two, similar, inscribed : EX DONO EVANI LLOYD FILII NATU MAXIMI BEAVOSII LLOYD DE CARREG-Y-PENNILL IN COMITATU DENBIGH ARMIGERI HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO COM. 1666.

The arms engraved are: *Arg., four pellets vert* (? a version of the arms of Lloyd of Bodidris-yn-Yale, Baronet, extinct 1700). The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1725. Makers' mark, $\begin{smallmatrix} A \\ ME \\ P \end{smallmatrix}$ in quatrefoil (M. Arnett and E. Pocock).

(3.) Another, similar, inscribed: EX DONO IOHANNIS GAMES DE NEWTON IN COM. BRECON ARMIG. ET SOCIO COMMENSALIS HUIUS COLLEGII 1668.

The arms engraved are: *Sa.*, a chevron between three pheons. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

Same date-letter and makers' marks.

(4.) Another, inscribed: D.D. JACOBUS STEDMAN IOHL. STEDMAN DE STRATA FLORIDA IN COM. CARDIGAN FILIUS HUIUS COLL. SOCIO. COMMENSALIS 1656.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, a cross crosslet; 2 and 3, . . a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

(5.) Another, inscribed: D.D. JOHANNES SALESBURY AUDEONI SALESBURY DE RÛG IN COM. MERION ARMIG. FILIUS NATU 2^{DUS} HUIUS COLL. SOCIO. COMMENSALIS 1657.

The arms engraved are: *Gu.*, a lion rampant between three crescents; also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1727. Makers' marks, G.S., with vase below, and T.T., with rose above, in two different shields.

(6.) Another, inscribed: D.D. HENRICUS JONES, FILIUS NATU MAX: EDMUNDI JONES DE BRECON, ARMIG. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1658.

The arms engraved are: *A chevron between three wolves' heads* . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1727. Maker's mark, G.S., with vase below (Gabriel Sleath).

(7.) Another, "bellied" shape, inscribed: D.D. R. STEDMAN DE STRATA FLORIDA IN COM. CARDIGAN ARM. SOC. COM. 1656.

Same arms as No. 4. The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1773. Maker's mark, I.D., in oblong shield.

(8.) Two, similar, each inscribed: E.D. MORGAN HERBERT DE HAVODYCHDRYD IN COM. CARDIGAN GUL. HERBERT OLIM ARM. FILII NATU MAXIMI 1652.

E.D. THO. TANAT FILII NATU MAXIMI RICEI TANAT DE ABERTANAT IN COM. SALOP ARM. ET SOCIO-COMENSALIS HUIUS COLL. 1650.

E.D. ROBERTI SONTLEY DE SONTLEY IN COM. DENBIGH ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1666.

The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

London date-letter for 1762. Maker, John Swift.

(9.) Another, similar, inscribed: D.D. PRICEUS DEVEREUX GEORGII DEVEREUX DE SHELDON IN COM. WARWIC. ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS 1654.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *Arg.*, a fesse gu., in chief three torteaux; 2, *gu.*, a lion rampant regardant or; 3, *arg.*, three boars' heads coupéd ppr. Crest: *Out of a ducal coronet . . a talbot's head . .* The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

Same date-letter and marks.

(10.) Another, inscribed: COLL. JES. OXON. E. DONIS GABRIELIS SALESBURY FIL TERTII OWENI SALESBURY DE RÛG IN COM. MERION. ARM. ET SOCIO-COMENSA. HUIUS COLLEGII A.D. 1657. London date-letter for 1867.

(11.) Another, engraved with the College arms, and inscribed: COLL. JESU E. DONIS, and IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM 1727.

London date-letter for 1726. Maker, Gabriel Sleath.

HALF-PINT MUGS.

(1.) Cylindrical, with bellied shape body, inscribed: COLL. JESU OXON, D.D. JACOBUS R. THURSFIELD, A.M., SOCIUS, MDCCCLXIX.

The College arms are engraved on it.

London date-letter.

There are 26 other half-pint Mugs, of various dates, and by different makers, from 1714 to 1787, for the use of "Artium Baccalaurorum", "Battellariorum", and "Commensalium".

SALT CELLARS.

(1.) Four circular Salts, standing on three shelled feet, inscribed: EX D. R. SEBRIGHT HON. DOM. EDW. SEBRIGHT DE BESFORD COM. WIGORN, BAR. FIL. NAT. MIN. SOC. COMM.

The arms engraved are: *Arg., three cinquefoils.* The College arms, and COLL. JES. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1785. Maker's mark, C.C., within an oblong shield (Charles Chesterman).

(2.) Two more, exactly similar, inscribed: E. DONIS EDWARDI NEVILLE IN COM. NOTT. MILIT.

The arms engraved are: *Gu., a saltire arg.* The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1760.

There are two other Salt Cellars, of similar form, given by THOMAS LEWIS DE LLANISSEN IN COM. GLAMORGAN ARM. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS; by WILLIAM SALESBURY OF RUG, and SAM^L. DAVIES, LL.D., ARM. IN COUNTY OF SALOP; and by R^L. A. ROBERTS OF BRYNMORWYDD, DENBIGHSHIRE, 1819.

Also 14 similar Salt Cellars, of the dates 1770 and 1775, inscribed: IN USUM BACCALAUROCORUM, and IN USUM COMMENSALIS.

MUSTARD POTS.

These are of the dates 1732, 1758, 1780, and they are of plain, upright form, with scroll handles; no lids; for the use of "Baccalaurorum", "Battellariorum", and "Commensalium".

PEPPER POTS.

Four in number, of the dates 1730, 1732, and 1758; cylindrical in form, plain, upright, with domed covers, scroll handles, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BATTELARIORUM, and IN USUM COMMENSALIMUM.

SPOONS AND FORKS.

There is a large number of Spoons and Forks, principally forks, of early nineteenth century manufacture.

The following, which are all with “ribbed edges”, are principally “conversions”, as will be seen from the dates:—

Ten dessert forks—Thos. Madrin, 1657.

Six table spoons—Edv. Kinaston et Gul. Mostyn.

Six table spoons—Joh. Lloyd de Keyswyn com. Merion. Arm. 1663.

Seventeen tea spoons—Roger Lort of Stackpool, Pembrokes.

Fourteen forks—Griffiths Rice, Esq., 1682.

Twelve dessert spoons—Joh. Williams, Glascoed, Denbigh, 1688.

Three forks—Joh. Williams, Glascoed, Denbigh, 1688.

Twelve forks—Thos. Fanshawe, Esq., 1717.

Eleven tea spoons—Johannes Watkins, A.B. 1817.

The following forks (fiddle pattern) are inscribed:—

D.D. C. H. Watling, A.B., Soc. de Leominster, in	
Com. Heref. In usum Commensalium ...	1818
D.D. Gwal. Powell, A.B., de Brecon (3 forks) ...	1818
A.B. Clough, A.B., Soc. de Bathafern in Com.	
Denb. (6 forks)	1818
D.D. T. W. Edwards, Arm., A.B., de Nathglyn in	
Com. Denb. (6 forks)	1818
D.D. C. H. Watling, M.A., Soc. de Leominster, in	
Com. Heref. (6 forks) ...	1818 and 1820

D.D. Joannes Williams, A.B., de Beaumaris (5 forks)	1822
D.D. Thomas Vere Bayne, A.B. (4 forks)	1824
D.D. O. Jenkins, A.B., Soc. (donor of 1 fork)	1824
D.D. Jenkin Hughes	1827
D.D. Edward Evans	1827
D.D. Joannes Griffiths, A.B.	1827
D.D. H. Bayley Williams	1827
D.D. Gul. Gilberton	1827
D.D. Joannes Thomas	1827
D.D. Morgan Davies	1827
D.D. Carolus Williams, A.B.	1827
D.D. Henry Rogers	1827
D.D. Nathaniel Levett	1827
D.D. Wm. Trumper	1827
D.D. James Jones	1827
D.D. Joannes Roberts	1827
D.D. Rees Jones	1827
D.D. Briscoe Owen	1827
D.D. Thomas Thomas, A.B.	1827
D.D. Gilbert Price	1827
D.D. Wm. Williams	1827
D.D. Wm. Hughes	1827
D.D. Wm. Jones	1827
D.D. Wm. North	1827
D.D. J. Jenkins	1827
D.D. Wm. Dyer	1827
D.D. Hugh Jones	1827
D.D. Thomas Jones	1827
D.D. R. M. Richards	1827
D.D. John Evans	1827
D.D. Wm. Harris	1827
D.D. Richard Briscoe	1827
D.D. Evan Pughe	1827
D.D. John Hamer	1827

120 *The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford.*

D.D. David Jones (donor of 1 fork)	1827
Rhodd. Henri Gruffydd, A.C., at wasanaeth yr ysgoleigion (donor of 1 fork) ...		1827
D.D. Joannes Llewelin	„ „	1828
D.D. J. Vaughan Lloyd, A.B.	„ „	1828
D.D. Samuel Lilley, A.B.	„ „	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Lloyd	„ „	1828
D.D. Morgan Jones	„ „	1828
D.D. Joannes Roberts	„ „	1828
D.D. Thomas B. Ll. Browne	„ „	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Evans	„ „	1828
D.D. Robertus Prichard	„ „	1828
D.D. Hugh R. Thomas, A.B.	„ „	1828
D.D. Henricus Jones	„ „	1828
D.D. Revd. Thomas Hughes	„ „	1828
D.D. Thomas Jones, Junr.	„ „	1828
D.D. Joannes Edwards	„ „	1828
D.D. Thomas Davies	„ „	1828
D.D. Gulmus Bowen Harris	„ „	1828
D.D. Gul. Williams, Junr.	„ „	1828
D.D. Henricus Reynolds, A.B.	„ „	1828
D.D. Jacobus F. S. Gabb	„ „	1828
D.D. D. J. George	„ „	1828
D.D. Edwardus E. Evans	„ „	1828
D.D. Thomas Lewis	„ „	1828
D.D. Evanus O. Hughes	„ „	1828
D.D. Richardus Morgan	„ „	1828
D.D. Richardus Pughe	„ „	1828
D.D. Hugo Prichard	„ „	1828
D.D. Joannes Davies	„ „	1828
D.D. Richard Griffiths	„ „	1828
D.D. T. Caesar Owen	„ „	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Holland	„ „	1828
D.D. Richardus Prichard	„ „	1828

D.D. Joannes Samuel	(donor of 1 fork)	...	1828
D.D. Thomas Longworth	„ „	..	1828
D.D. Henricus Trevor Wheler	„	...	1828
D.D. Thomas Humphreys	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Gul. Lloyd Williams	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Joannes Williams	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Edwardus Pughe	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Evans Williams	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Guls. Steward Richards	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Essex Holcombe	„ „	...	1828
D.D. Lloyd Joannes Price	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Gulmus Henricus Twyning	„	...	1829
D.D. Jacobus Lewis	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Edwardus Jones	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Joannes Morgan	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Joannes Williams	„ „	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Thomas	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Josephus Martin	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Joannes Lloyd	„ „	...	1829
D.D. R. Prys Roberts	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Hugo Roberts	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Thomas Williams	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Jacobus Phillips	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Joannes Dawson	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Gul. Griffiths, A.B.	„ „	..	1829
D.D. Griffiths Williams	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Maurice Hughes	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Joannes P. Bishop	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Eugenius Williams	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Arturus D. Gardner	„ „	...	1829
D.D. Ricardus Evans	„ „	..	1829
D.D. Thomas French	„ „	...	1829
D.D. David Williams	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Johannes Davies	„ „	...	1830

D.D. Gulielmus Roberts	(donor of 1 fork)	...	1830
D.D. Georgius Williamson	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Jacobus Ricardus Owen	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Fredk. Pilkington	„ „	...	1830
D.D. William Williams	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Minshull Thomas	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Robert Jones Hughes	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Johannes Rawlin Frye	„ „	...	1830
D.D. J. B. Summers	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Benjaminus Rees	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Thomas Briscoe	„ „	...	1830
D.D. Henricus Peake	„ „	...	1831
D.D. Johannes Morris	„ „	...	1831
D.D. R. Henricus Jackson	„ „	...	1831
D.D. W. Williams, Frondeg	„ „	...	1831
D.D. Ricardus Lloyd	„ „	...	1831
D.D. Jacobus Parrey	„ „	...	1831
D.D. Edwardus Titley	„ „	...	1831

**LIST OF PLATE TRANSFORMED INTO OTHER
ARTICLES; OR LOST.**

A “halfe-penny Pott”, weighing 14 ozs., given in 1650 by “Thomas Tanat, eldest son of Rice Tanat of Aber-Tanat, in the county of Salop”.

A “halfe-penny Pott”, 12 ozs., given in 1652 by “Morgan Herbert, eldest son of William Herbert of Havod-yeh-dryd, Cardiganshire”.

“Two halfe-penny Potts”, 18 ozs., given in 1666 by “Robert Sontley, of Sontley, Denbighshire”.

The foregoing three gifts were converted into two pint mugs in 1762, and part of Robert Sontley’s gift into a beaker in 1773.

“One little Tankard”, 18 ozs. 5 dwts., given in 1654 by “Stephen Jackson, only son of Stephen Jackson of Couling, Yorkshire”—converted in 1726 into a Mug of same weight.

“One little Tankard”, 16 ozs. 5 dwts., the gift in 1654 of “Price Devoreux, eldest son of George Devoreux of Sheldon, Warwickshire”—converted in 1762 into a Pint Mug, weighing 15 oz. 8 dwts.

“Two halfe-penny Potts”, 14 ozs. $\frac{1}{2}$ dwt., and 14 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1656 by “James and Richard Stedman of Strata Florida, Cardiganshire”—transformed into Pint Mugs in 1725 and 1773, weighing 13 ozs. 15 dwts., and 15 ozs. 13 dwts. respectively.

One small Tankard, 21 ozs., given in 1657, by “Thomas Madrin, the eldest son of Thomas Madrin of Madrin, Carnarvonshire”—converted into Dessert Forks early in the nineteenth century.

“One halfe-penny Pott”, weight 13 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1657 by “John Salesbury, second son of Owen Salesbury of Rûg, Merioneth”—transformed into a Pint Mug in 1727.

Silver of the weight of 8 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1657 by “Gabriel Salesbury, third son of Owen Salesbury, of Rûg”—converted into a Pint Mug in 1867.

“Three small Farthing Potts and three spoones”, 27 ozs., given in 1658 by “Roger Oates, only son of Roger Oates of Keventilly, Monmouthshire”—converted in 1773 into two small Beakers.

“Two halfe-penny Potts, 23 oz. 8 dwts.”, given in 1658 by “Edmund Jones of Buckland, in the county of Brecon”. These have disappeared.

“One halfe-penny Pott”, given in 1658 by “Henry Jones, eldest son of Edmund Jones of Buckland, in the county of Brecon”—converted in 1727 into a Pint Mug.

Two large Salts, 34 ozs., given by “William Salesbury and Gabriel Salesbury, of Rûg, and Edward Kinaston of

Hordley, in the county of Salop, and Samuel Davies of the county of Salop DLL^s". No record of conversion of this gift into other articles.

"One halfe-penny Pott and Spoones", 15 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1659 by "Roger Matthews of Blodwell, in the county of Salop". Not now in existence, either in original or converted form.

One Tankard, weight 33 ozs., given in 1660 by "Hugh Nanney of Nanney, in the county of Merioneth".

One large Tankard, 38 ozs., the gift of "William Glim, eldest son of Sir John Glim, Knight, Ser. at Law".

One Tankard, 33 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1678 by "Oliver St. John of Hylight, in the county of Glamorgan".

One Tankard, 34 ozs., given in 1678 by "Griffith Jeffereys, son of John Jeffereys of Acton, in the county of Denbigh".

One large Tankard, 83 ozs. 16 dwts., given in 1683 by "Owen Salesbury, eldest son of William Salesbury of Rûg, in the county of Merioneth".

The four preceding Tankards were melted down and the silver re-made in 1800 into the set of four Entrée Dishes.

"One large Bowl", 69 ozs., given in 1660 by "Sir Edward Stradling, Baronet, of St. Donnat's Castle, in the county of Glamorgan". Part of the silver converted in 1770 into a Cruet Stand. This piece was probably one of the beautiful Bowls and Covers, of Porringer form, fashionable in the reign of Charles II.

One Tankard, 28 ozs., given in 1661 by "Charles Walbieoffe, only son of Charles Walbieoffe of Llanhamlech, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1726 into a Quart Mug.

"One large Pott", 38 ozs., given in 1662 by "Lewis Wogan of Boulston, in the county of Pembroke"—converted in 1760 into a pair of small Salvers.

One large Salt, 49 ozs. 12 dwts., the joint gift of "Edward Kinaston of Hordly, in the county of Salop, and of William Mostyn of Rhyd, in the county of Flint, who respectively contributed five pounds and ten pounds for its purchase". Only six Table Spoons appear to have been transformed from this.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs., given in 1675 by "Richard Godden of the City of London"—converted in 1742 into another form of quart Tankard with lid.

One Tankard, 31 ozs., given by "Roger Lort, only son of Sir Roger Lort of Stackpoole, in the county of Pembroke"—converted into Tea Spoons in the early part of nineteenth century.

One Tankard, 33 ozs., given in 1663 by "John Lloyd, eldest son of John Lloyd of Keyswyn, in the county of Merioneth"—converted into Table Spoons.

One small Tankard, 14 ozs. 16 dwts., given in 1663 by "Dan^l. Williams of Penpont, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1717 into another form of Tankard.

Eleven Spoons, 23 ozs., given in 1663 by "John Lloyd of Llangenneck, in the county of Carmarthen"—converted into other forms of Spoons.

Weight 23 ozs. 15 dwts. (no record of the form of article), given in 1666 by "George Kemmys, eldest son of Sir Nicholas Kemmys of Llanvaire-is-y-coed, in the county of Monmouth". Disappeared.

Twelve forks, 18 ozs. 5 dwts., and six small Salts, 9 ozs., given in 1684 by "Sir Edward Nevil, Knight, of the county of Nottingham"—transformed in 1760 into one pair of Salt Cellars.

Two "halfe-penny Potts", 28 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1666 by "Evan Lloyd, eldest son of Bevis Lloyd of Carreg-y-pennil, in the county of Denbigh"—converted in 1725 into two Pint Mugs, 27 ozs. 5 dwts.

Two "halfe-penny Potts", 26 ozs. 13 dwts., given in 1668 by "John Games of Newton, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1725 into one Pint Mug, 13 ozs. 18 dwts. (no record of remaining ounces).

"One large two-handled Pott", 70 ozs., given by "John Awbery, the only son of S^r John Awbery of Llantrithyd, in the county of Glamorgan, K^t and Bar^t"—part of the silver was re-made in 1783 into a Snuffer Tray and Snuffers, and in 1784 into Dessert Spoons and Salt Spoons.

One Tankard, 33 ozs., given in 1680 by "George Dale of Flagg, in the county of Derby"—converted in 1728 into another style of Tankard.

One large Tankard, 60 ozs. 15 dwts., given by "John Griffith, the only son of William Griffith, of Llyne in the county of Carnarvon"—converted into a pair of Sauce Boats in 1757, and another smaller pair in 1784.

One large Tankard, 71 ozs., given in 1682 by "Griffith Rice of Newton, in the county of Carmarthen"—converted into Forks.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1684 by "Thomas Button of Cottrell, in the county of Glamorgan"—converted in 1717 into a Jug with lid.

One large two-handled Cup, 34 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1685 by "Nicholas Arnold, only son of John Arnold of Llanvihangel Crucornel, in the County of Monmouth"—converted in 1796 into a Jug.

One large Tankard, 35 ozs. 15 dwts., given in 1685 by "George Williams, the eldest son of John Williams of Aber Cothy, in the county of Carmarthen"—transformed in 1762 into another Tankard, 35 ozs. 4 dwts.

One large Tankard, 69 ozs. 5 dwts., given in 1688 by "John Williams, younger son of Sir William Williams, Baronet, of Glascoed, Denbighshire"—converted into Spoons and Forks.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs., given by "Richard Sebright, brother of Sir Edward Sebright, Bart, of Besford, Worcestershire"—converted into four Salt Cellars in 1785.

One Tankard, 20 ozs., given in 1658 by "Thomas Glynne of 'Glynne-Nanlley', in the county of Carnarvon"—converted in 1762 into a Cruet Frame.

One large Tankard, of the value of £11 10s., given in 1698 by "John Lloyd of Llangeneth, in the county of Carmarthen". Disappeared.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, weight 31 ozs., given in 1698 by "John Walters of the town of Brecon"—converted in 1701 into another form of Tankard, holding a quart.

One Tankard, of the value of £12, weight 38 ozs., given in 1698 by "John Pugh, eldest son of William Pugh of Mathafarn in the county of Montgomery"—converted in 1784 into a pair of Table Candlesticks.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, given in 1699 by "John Lloyd of Rhuwedog, Merioneth"—converted in 1717 into another Tankard.

One Tankard, of the value of £12, weight 35½ ozs., given in 1699 by "Nicholas Jeffreys, second son of Jeffrey Jeffreys of Roehampton, Surrey". Disappeared.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, weight 61 ozs., given in 1699 by "Lewis Price of Llanfread, in the county of Cardigan". Disappeared.

Six Spoons, of the value of £3 2s. 6d., given in 1699 by Dr. Griffith Davis, Fellow of the College. Disappeared.

One Tankard, 32 ozs., given in 1699 by "John Lloyd of Buwchlaethwen, in the county of Carmarthen". Disappeared.

One Tankard, 41 ozs., given in 1700 by "George Howell, eldest son of George Howell of Bovill, county Glamorgan"—converted in 1785 into a pair of Sauce Boats.

One Tankard, 17 ozs., given in 1685 by "Edmund Evans

of 'Gragge', in the county of Montgomery"—converted in 1717 into another Tankard.

One Tankard, 27 ozs., given in 1704 by "Lewis Morgan of the town of Newport, Monmouthshire"—converted in 1784 into a pair of small Waiters.

One large Monteith, 64 ozs., given in 1707 by "William Herbert of the 'Fryers', in the County of Glamorgan". Disappeared.

A Decanter, 28 ozs., given in 1708 by "Henry Morgan of Penllwyn, in the county of Monmouth". Disappeared.

A Decanter, 46 ozs. 14 dwts., given in 1711 by "William Price of Rhiwlas, Merioneth". Disappeared.

Five Silver Spoons, given in 1717 by "Luke Williams, B.D., and Fellow of the College". Disappeared.

A Tankard, 29 ozs., given in 1717 by "Thomas Fanshaw of Parslows, Essex"—converted into Forks.

A Salver, 28 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1715 by "Hugh Williams, eldest son of John Williams of the city of Chester"—converted in 1727 into a Paten for the Chapel.

Peniarth MS. 37.

FOL. 61A—FOL. 76B.

EDITED BY A. W. WADE-EVANS.

THIS MS. of the late thirteenth century¹ belongs to the so-called "Gwentian Code", and forms the basis of the amalgam compiled by Aneurin Owen and printed in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* under that name. It is denominated U, and differs from its three fellows² in the British Museum by adding sixteen folios of matter, which are found more or less alike in some of the oldest North Welsh law books, including A, that is Peniarth MS. 29, better known as the *Black Book of Chirk*;³ E (a faithful transcript of the last);⁴ G;⁵ and Pen. MS. 30.⁶ It is also found in later MSS. like the North Welsh D and F,⁷ and the South Welsh Q (c. 1401), "burnt in 1858",⁸ and K (c. 1469).⁹ Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans says that these sixteen folios of Pen. 37 are "in such close agreement with the corresponding part in Pen. MS. 35 [*i.e.* G],¹⁰ that both must be from the same archetype, or the one is a copy of the other. Both MSS. belong to the same school of writing,

¹ See Historical MSS. Commission: *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. i, part 2, p. 371.

² Harleian 4353 (V); Cleopatra A xiv (W); Cleopatra B v (X).

³ *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 359.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 367. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 361. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 363, 367.

⁸ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 298. ⁹ *Report on Welsh MSS.*, 374.

¹⁰ MS. G, fo. 112—fo. 119b. This last page ends with the words corresponding to *caffel o honi ueichogi* of U 74a, the remainder of G being lost (see *Anc. Laws*, vol. ii, 93, n. 65).

and may be the work of the same scribe.”¹ In E² the folio where they should begin is missing, between fo. 46 and 47 in the Brit. Mus. pagination in pencil, and between p. 94 (not marked) and p. 97 of a pagination in ink. The number 97 is followed by a finger warning and q ?, to signify that it is doubtful whether one or more leaves are missing. P. 94 ends with this line, “boŷy nŷ chŷll ŷ ureŷnt ŷr gwneuthur gwell noŷ ŷaun. Puŷbŷn” * (*see* Aneurin Owen, vol. i, p. 330, § 35), whilst p. 97 begins, “dŷwuŷn canŷf ŷaun ŷu” etc., (vol. ii, p. 6, § 15, and U, fo. 62b 1). E apparently ended once at fo. 52a, l. 2, with the words, “lle ny bo.” (vol. ii, p. 36, § 34; U, fo. 75b), and it is significant that here E and U, begin to diverge entirely. Indeed, what follows in E appears to have been written by two different hands, viz., fo. 52a, 3-11, and 52a, 12-18, where the MS. terminates (vol. ii, 37, n. 45). The present text is the oldest South Welsh version, and is now printed for the first time. The oldest North Welsh version will be reproduced “in due time” from A and E, by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans,³ so that the two may be compared with profit. It will also be found useful to compare them with Aneurin Owen (vol. ii, pp. 2-46) in order to see his methods of editing these texts—methods which it is suggested he was constrained to adopt⁴—and how far their results may be relied upon.

This MS. was very kindly placed at my disposal last summer by Mr. Wynne of Peniarth. I then carefully transcribed these sixteen folios page for page, line for line, error for error, and it is from this transcript of mine, *without further reference to the original*, that the

¹ *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 371.

² British Museum Additional MS. 14,931.

³ *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. vii, note.

⁴ Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 25, n. 2.

accompanying text is now copied. I have more than once in foot-notes warned the reader where I thought the mistake might possibly be my own, for perhaps it is more than one can hope, even in so short a transcript as this, that it should be errorless.

It is proposed to publish shortly a reproduction of Harleian MS. 4353, with the leading variations of its fellows, together with an Introduction and a tentative English translation. The reason for the present text in *Y Cymmrodor* rises from its anomalous character in an early leading South Welsh book of this class. The title "Gwentian Code", which Aneurin Owen applied to them, is a misnomer, as there is nothing to indicate that they pertain to Gwent more than, say, to Ystrad Tywi, or Buallt, or some other particular South Welsh *patria*. They represent in reality a compilation or a redaction of Cyfnerth ab Morgeneu, as the so-called "Dimetian Code" represents that of Blegywryd, who apparently was a later "jurist".

It is with some unwillingness that I offer an English translation, in spite of Aneurin Owen's invaluable aid. The pitfalls are many, the meaning often obscure, and I myself a victim of that educational folly which deprived the youth of Wales of any training whatsoever in their own tongue. This translation, therefore, is not only tentative but highly so.

Ty Rhôs, Fishguard.

PENIARTH MS. 37. FOL. 61A—76B.

Hyt hyn y traeth *¹ affam k²eu ffys a chyfreitheu yr
gwlaf. O hyn affan. o: damweineu.

POb² kyulauan awnel dyn oe anuod diwyget oe uod.
O deruyd y dynyon ynuyt ffad dynyon ereiff:
Talher galanaf droftunt mal dynyon pŷffaðe. Canys
kenedyl a dyly eil cadð rac gwneuthur cam o honunt. Pa
dyn pŷffaðe bynhac a lado ynuyt. Talet galanas mal
galanas dyn pŷffaðe. Ny diwygir farhaet agaffer gair ynuyt.
ac ny diwygir farhaet agaffo ynteu. Nyt gŷneuthuredic
³dim o: a wnel dyn medð Na mach arodho yny ueddaðt
Na fyd araſt a adaðho. O deruyd bot dyn yn gyndeiraðe.
abrathu dyn araſt o honað ae danhed ae o: brath hŷnnð
fo. 61b. dy * uot agheu yr dyn Nys diðe kenedyl yr ynuyt ef.
Canys o annðyt yr heint y colles y ffaff y eneit. Dyn mut
Ny thelir farhaet Nac atteb o dyn⁴ araſt iddað Cany
dyweit ehun y dylu o honað. Onyt arglðyd atrugarhaa
ðathað arodði dyn adywetto droftað. Byddeir adeiffon
Ny mðynheir dim o: a dywettont yn dadleu Cany welas
y neiff ae na chlyð y ffaff o honunt. Gŷth hynny Ny
mðynheir dim⁵ o: a dywettðynt. Pob anaf araſt o:auo iach

¹ The first part of this rubric, to the asterisk, is the last half of l. 18 of fol. 60b. An asterisk signifies the end of a page, which generally in U contains 18 lines.

² The stem of the missal capital is made to run down the left margin to the foot of the page. Rubricated letters are not noticed in this reproduction, only rubrics and rubric capitals. Rubricated letters are very numerous. Italicised letters indicate contractions.

³ Before dim at end of preceding line, there is a d. with stop crossed out.

⁴ o dyn is divided between l. 4 and l. 5, the former ending od and the latter beginning dyn.

⁵ Before dim at end of preceding line, there is a d crossed out.

y clufteu. ae taua6t ae lygat. kymeredic y6 eu hymadra6d. Dynyon aghyueith Ny 6yper py dywett6ynt ac ny 6ypont h6ynteu py dywetter 6athunt Nyt kymeredic eu hymadra6d Onyt argl6yd * a trugarhaa 6athunt. Tyftoffaeth a effir fo. 62a. ar eir ac ar weithret :¹ ac ny effir ar ued6l.

Ny thal un anyueil¹ kyndeira6c y gyflauan awnel. Ny thal un anyueil br6ydrin² y gilyd. ac fef y6 anyueil br6ydrin yftal6yn othad y Haff Ny thal tar6 y Haff Na baed y gilyd Na h6rd Na cheila6c Na cheilac6yd. Na b6ch. O Hladant h6y anyueileit ereitt:³ h6y ae talant. O deruyd ydyn tannu r6yt ar uo: Neu ar tir. a dyuot ae g6ydeu ae anieileit ereitt ac eu briwa6 o achos y r6yt abriwa6 yr6yt gan yr anieileit Ny di6c un onadunt y gilyd. Oder. mynet eidon Neu anyueil araft ymy6n r6yt abriwa6 y r6yt. a dianc yr anyueil Ja6n y6 y di * u6yn Canys ia6n y6 fo. 62b. tannu y r6yt. O deruyd dylyu da y dyn ac am y da h6nn6 roddi oet ida6. achyn yr oet caffel o: kynogyn y da ae gynnig ida6:⁴ kyureith adyweit na dyly y 6athot Cany roddir oet Namyn yr keiffa6 y da.³ P6ybynhac arodher oet ida6 Neut eidyaf yr oet. ag6naet ynteu aynho ae arhos yr oet. ae talu kyn⁴ yr oet. Py anyueil bynhac aladho dyn bonhedig. acheiffa6 o: genedyl goffot galanas ymdana6 Nys dylyant ket adefher. Sef achos y6 hynny Cany dyly un dyn talu galanas. ac ny dyly kenedyl talu

¹ ellir ar ued6l . . . anyueil is l. 3, but a colored bracket divides ued6l. from Ny, facing the latter, which indicates that a new section begins at this point. This bracket, well known to all acquainted with these MSS., is also used to show that what follows it in the same line belongs to the line preceding.

² Before br6ydrin the scribe wrote br6drin, which he crossed out, expuncting each letter.

³ da is followed by two full stops and a third stop, which is somewhat like an inverted comma, in order to fill up the line.

⁴ Before kyn the scribe wrote yr oe, which he crossed out, expuncting each of the letters.

gweithret anyueil yn gar. ac 6th hynny h6n y6 yr un
 lle ytelir y flourud yn lle y weithret. P6ybynhac adylyho
 fo. 63a. da y arall acheiffa6 talu¹ * da aghynodedic o hona6 am y
 dylyet. Ny dylyir kymryt da aghynodedic nae yn tal nae
 yng g6yftyl ony byd² na bo da aingen ar y hel6 Sef y6 da
 aghynodedic. Da ny after y d6yn fozd y mynher. Oderuyd
 y dyn mynet y hely adechreu ett6g ar 6yd l6d6n pa anyueil
 bynhac uo achyfaruot c6n fegur ac ef ae lad. y k6n kyntaf
 ae kynhely6s bieiuyl onyt c6n yr argl6yd y³ ydant yrei
 fegur alyna hyt y dyly yr hel6 kyntaf uot yr anyueil
 yny ardel6. yny ymchoelo y 6yneb parth ac adref ae
 geuyn ar yr hely kyt bo y k6n ef yn hely ae ynten g6edy
 yr ymada6 ae c6n. ny dyly dim o hona6 kyt ffadho y c6n
 fo. 63b. fegur ef Namyn yneb bie⁴ * ffo y k6n diflin O deruyd
 y fozda6l y ar y fozd gwelet g6ydl6d6n ab6r6 ergyt ida6 a
 maen Neu afaeth ae uedru. Ja6n y6 ida6 y erlit yny
 godiwedho.⁴ ac nyt ia6n ida6 y faethu Nae ymlit onyf
 meder y ar y fozd.⁵ Oderuyd y dyn hely pyfga6t ae
 kyuodi o hona6 ae hymlit. ac ar y ymlit ef mynet y pyfe
 yn r6yt arall. O k⁶. y kyntaf a kynodef bieiuyl. O d⁶.
 y dynyon wneuthur ammot am pyfga6t yn eu hely. heb
 yneill ypyfe kyntaf⁶ aladher y mi. Heb y ffall ydiwethaf
 aladher y minheu ac naladher namyn un pyfe. k⁶.
 adyweit yny⁷ bo kyhyded dylyu rannu deuhanner. O d⁶.
 ydynyon hely pyfga6t ae yny hely dyuot dynyon 6th eu

¹ At the foot of the page under talu is the catch word da in an oblong figure.

² byd is preceded by a b. with stop crossed out. This b. ends a line.

³ This y is crossed out with black and red through lower stem.

⁴ This word is divided between two lines thus: god diwedho.

⁵ The stop is the kind of inverted comma referred to before.

⁶ This word is preceded by a k expuncted at the end of the line preceding.

⁷ This word is divided between two lines thus, y ny

ffad ac * erchi rann oz pyfga6t. h6y ae dylyan ony fo. 64a.
 deruyd eu dodu ar dyn Neu ar uacheu o deruyd hynny Ny
 dylyant dim. Teir goffed breninha6l yffyd Goffed
 argl6yd. agoffed efgob. agoffed abbat. Pob un o
 nadunt adyly daly goffed tr6yda6 ehun. Od². y6r yr
 argl6yd g6neuthur cam yg goffed efgob Nac aet ohoni
 heb wneuthur ia6n. ac y uetty g6z yr efgob yg goffed
 yr argl6yd. ac y uetty g6z yr abbat yny goffedeu ereith.
 yr argl6yd pan uo mar6 yr efgob adyly yda. Eithyr
 g6ife yr egl6yf. ae Hyfren. ae tir. Sef achos ydyly Pob
 da auo heb perchenna6c diffeith brenhin y6. abbat hagen
 Ny dyly¹ argl6yd Namyn y ebedi6 * pan uo mar6 yr fo. 64b.
 abbat. y clas ae canonwyr adyly yda ef. Pa dadyl
 bynhac auo y rydunt ehun: yneit oz clas adyly barnu
 undunt. Pa dadyl bynnac auo y abbat ac argl6yd: yneit
 yr argl6yd adyly barnu ygyt ac wynt. Od²uyd bot
 deu argl6yd allu gan bob un onadunt yny² wlat. adyuot
 dyn ygeiffa6 eftyn ar tir Nyt rod eu rod ac nyt eftyn eu
 heftyn yny 6yper pieiffo y wlat ohonunt. Od²uyt y
 uchel6z rodidi yuab y eith ar ueithrin o ganyat argl6yd
 ae ryuot ef a³ abl6ydynd ad6y atheir. pan uo mar6⁴ y mab
 eith ony byd plant ida6. ydylyet adyg6yd yn lla6 y
 mab maeth ac o⁵ byd plant ida6 * rann un ohonunt fo. 65a.
 adyly y mab maeth.⁶ Od²uyd rodi kymraes y attut. mab
 honno adyly rann bra6t otref tat. ac ny dyly h6nn6
 rann oz tydyn arbenhic Nac of6yd hyt y trydyd dyn.

¹ dyly is above the line, with mark of omission.

² yny is divided between two lines thus, y ny

³ a is above the line, with a mark of omission between ef and ef, which last is crossed out and has each letter expuncted.

⁴ mar6 is preceded on the line above by m expuncted.

⁵ The scribe wrote ony and then crossed out the two last letters, expuncting them.

⁶ maeth begins a line. The preceding line ends with m crossed out and expuncted.

Ef ae uab ae 6yr o hynny affan kymeret ia6n o: f6yd ae o: tydyn b:reinha6e Ony deruyd bot yr alltut yn gyholaeth g6ydel Neu feis. a h6nn6 adyly yn diannot a f6yd arann o: tydyn b:reinha6e. ae ohynny ytelir gwarthee dyuach. Sef y6 gwarthee dyuach Rann ytat alltut Canyt oes genedyl ida6 yn un wlat ae ef ae ny renmir y gwarthee hynny lyt yfeithuet ach mal galanas araff
 fo. 65b. Namyn lyt gyuerder6. Od.²¹ ★ Od²uyd y dyn rodi p6yth ym p6yth ae naf gouynho d:anoeth Nyf dyly lyt yn oet un dyd abl6ydyn ae yna dyget 6yftyl mal ar dylyet araff². .

Ebediwen.

Ebedi6 maer kyghetta6: Punt. Ebedi6 maer. chweu-geint. Ebedi6 kyghetta6: chweugeint. Ebedi6 mabeiff: o: byd egl6ys ar ytir. chweugeint. Ony byd. Trugeint. Ebediw alltut pedeir arugeint. Nyt a ebedi6 yn ol tir kymif. Od'uyd gwanhanu dyn ae tir yny uywyt ae uar6 ef gwedy hynny. Nyt a yr ebedi6 yn ol ytir. Namyn yn ol yda. Ony byd dim³ o: da: Bit diffodedic yr ebedi6 Neu uot ida6 da.⁴ y mab a⁵ dyly talu ebedi6
 fo. 66a. ytat. Pob f6yda ★ 6e yny ffys: chweugeint y6 yebedi6 Eithyr penmaduryeit y ffys Nyt amgen ydiftein. Pen-gwaftra6t Penhebogyd. Penkynyd. Gwaf yftaueff. Punt y6 ebedi6 pob un o honunt. Bonhedic canh6yna6l a mab

¹ This is last word on l. 18 and *not* a catchword.

² l. 4 ends with ar dyly and l. 5 is Ebedi6 ma Ebediwen et arall. . the first letter being a rubric capital and Ebediwen a rubric.

³ dim begins a new line. The line before ends with d crossed out and expuncted.

⁴ ada athir. with first a and athir. crossed out, each letter being expuncted.

⁵ a ends the line.

uchel⁶. a g⁶ kyuarfa⁶e Ebedi⁶ atelir kynny bo tir yny
la⁶. Sef ydyly y talu 6¹th ureint ytir yd heny⁶ ef
o hona⁶. Or byd g⁶ adeu argl⁶yd ida⁶ athir ida⁶ y¹
dan bob un o honunt Ef adyly talu ebedi⁶ obob un
o honunt. Or byd g⁶ deu tir ydan un argl⁶yd Ef adyly
talau ebedi⁶ o¹ m⁶yhafy ureint. Od²uyd y gerded⁶
alltut cleuychu ar foid ae uar⁶ Pa tir bynhac y bo mar⁶
arna⁶ Ef adyly * talu pedeir arugeint yny ebedi⁶ ae da fo. 66b.
y am hynny yr argl⁶yd Of g⁶reic uyd un ar pymthec.
amob⁶eu merchet y gwyr adywedyffam ni uchot. kymeint
y⁶ ae ebedi⁶ eu tadeu Ny thal g⁶reic uyth² namyn un
amobyr. Sef y³ tal h⁶nn⁶ o ureint ytir yd hany⁶ o hona⁶
ae ny dyly neb talu d⁶ofti Namyn hi ehun Onyf rodei
y that Neu y b⁶odyr Neu y chenedyl ae na chymerynt
mach ary hamobyr. y rodyeit adylyant y talu Cany
chymerffant uach⁴ arna⁶. Sef achos g⁶reic Namyn un
amobyr 6¹th ureint argl⁶yd ytir h⁶nn⁶ ybyd. ae nyt
6¹th ureint y genedyl Namyn 6¹th ureint y * g⁶ ydel fo. 67a.
ida⁶. O tri achos y telir amobyr. Un o honunt o rod ae
eftyn kynny bo kywelyogaeth. Eil y⁶ o kywelyogaeth
kyhoeda⁶e kynny bo rod ae eftyn. Trydyd y⁶ o ueichogi.
Teir merchet ny dylyir amobyr udunt. Merch edlig. a
merch argl⁶yd. a merch penteulu. Sef achos nadylyir
udunt 6¹th na dylyir ebedi⁶ eu tadeu Eithyr eu hemys. ae
eu milg⁶n ae eu hebogeu ae eu harueu. Merch argl⁶yd
Ny dylyir amobyr idi Canyt oes ae gouynho Ny dyly ynteu
amobyr y uerch ehun.

¹ y ends the line.

² uyth begins a line. The preceding line ends with a crossed out and expuncted.

³ y ends line.

⁴ uarch with the r expuncted.

Goholaeth¹

Dy dylyir y un goholaeth ebedið. Sef achos yn herwyd
 y dylyet maðz y byd ryd ynteu o bob dylyet
 fo. 67b. bychan.² ★ Onyt hyn a deruyd idað. kymryt tir o honað
 a mynet y ureint mab³ uchelðz yr caethet hagen uo y tir
 ef : kynrydhet uyd athir mab uchelðz. æ o hynny aſſan
 amobyr æ ebedið aſal ynteu ual y tal mab uchelðz kynno
 hynny Ny thalei Namyn atalei etling.

Amobyr merch penkenedyl . . Punt. Pob kyuryð dyn
 oð atalho⁴ amobyr kymeint uyd amobyr y uerch
 æ ebedið ehun

Amobyr merch penkerd æ ebedið ehun oð a eſtynho
 arglðyd penkeirdaeth idað. chweugeint. Pob
 kerdaðz araſſ ony ureintyffit y dylyet ehun Na thref⁵
 fo. 68a. tadaðc uo Nac aſſtut y ueſſy y ★ tal amobyr y uerch æ
 ebedið e⁶ hun. Pob penkerdaðz oð a eſtynho arglðyd
 penkeirdyaeth yr arglðyd bieu keiffað offer idað Nyt amgen
 telyn y un. Crðth y araſſ. Piben⁷ yr trydyd. æ ynteu pan
 uðynt uarð adylyant eu hadað yr arglðyd. Pob penkerd
 telyn adyly y gan y kerdozyon ieueine auo ðzth kerd telyn
 a mynu ymadað athelyn raðn a bot yn eirchat. y penkerd

¹ This rubric ends l. 15, which begins teu amobyr.

² dylyet bychan. is written just below the end of l. 18 preceded by a colored bracket (see fo. 62a and note).

³ This word begins line. The preceding line ends with m crossed out and expuncted.

⁴ The lh of this word are ligatured.

⁵ thref ends a line.

⁶ e ends a line.


⁷ Aneurin Owen (vol. ii, 18) reads pyben from A and apparently the plural form here. It is often impossible to distinguish between n and u in these MSS.

adyly pedeir arugeint ida6. ac a¹ del o bob douot nac
oerchi nac o gyuar6s neitha6: Rann deu 6: Nac ef
auo yny lle Nac ef ny bo ageiff os gouyn. Sef y6
kyfar6s neitha6:, pedeir arugeint. * o: neitha6: auo y fo. 68b.
wreie. a hynny yr beird. ar penkerd adyly y waffan-
aeth ual g6: medanhus arnadunt. Rei adyweit pan y6 dyn
amdiuenedic y6 kyuarch kifff. Ereiff adyweit pan y6
flad derwen yn aghyuarch ar tref tada6c. Ereiff adyweit
pan y6 h6n y6 kyuarch kifff yn ia6n pan uo y gar yn
negyd yr flourud oe rann o: alanas. ac yn gouyn mae y
kyff y gwheheneis. i athi. yna y mae reit yr flourud menegi
idaw y kyff. ac mal ymae ygerenhyd ac ef. herwyd
ydywedaffam uchot ac ygyt ahynny bod ygyt garant
a uo diga6n ycad6 bot yn wir adyweit y flourud Sef
achos y byd ygyt garant yny lle honno yn hen * fo. 69a.
euydyt Can y dyly yr eftronyon Na d6yn y gerenhyd Nae
wahanu a hi.

tat=b:a6t=kefynder6=kefeder6=keifyn=go:cheifyn=go:cha6


 || || || || ||

mam=b:a6t=keuynder6=kyferder6=keifyn=go:cheifyn=go:cha6²


 deruyd y dyn flad araff yg kynff6yn Neu tr6y
uurd6rn. Galanas deu³ dyblyc atal. Canys fyrnic
y6 ac ynteu yn eneit uadeu am yneiff alanas ar flaff ar y
genedyl ac dihenyd ynteu yn ewyffis yr argl6yd Nae lad

¹ a is end of a line.

² Each of the above names is enclosed in a circle, connected with one another by double lines as printed. The whole figure is in black and red. In the circle which contains the word mam the scribe also wrote mam, which he crossed out and expuncted. The circumference of the circle containing fla6frud touches that of those containing b:a6t.

³ This word ends a line.

Nae lofgi. Nae grogi auynho. Os gwadu awna rodet
 wat llad kelein yn deudyblyc. Sef y6 hynny. H6 [chue
 fo. 69b. chant wr].¹ Od'uyd y dynyon * wenn6yna6 ereiff.
 Dewiffet yr argl6yd ae eu dehol ae eu dihenydu. Of
 gwadant rodent H6 ch(we) [chant wr].¹

d'uyd ydyn holi peth y araff achilya6 o hona6 oz
 maes abot yn weff ganta6 tewi no holi. y k'. a at
 ida6² tewi Canyf yny dewis ymae ae holi ae na holo. ket
 galwo yr amdiffyn6z am ura6t. ae o achos yuot yn
 kilya6³ y diuarnu oz da. Eiffoes Ny wyl y k'. uot yn
 ia6n y diuarnu ef oz eidya6 Nae oe ha6l. Namyn can
 g6:thodes yr oet yuot heb un oet ida6 oz maes. Os ef
 aderyd ida6 rodi mach ar auarnho. k'. ae eisted yny pleit
 adechreu holi agwaranda6 atdeb. ae gwedy hynny oet 6:th
 fo. 70a. y borth adywedut y dylyu Canyf yny dewif * yd 6yf.
 ac yna dywedut oz amdiffyn6z. ket ryffo yth dewis
 nyt ydi6. Cany chygein gwarthal gan dewif. ae neur
 dewiffeisti holi. ae 6:th hynny mi a dodaf ar. y k'. na
 dyly y di gilya6. ae sef awyl y k'. yna. Nat oef ammot
 ida6. Namyn g6nenthur. k'. dilufe. ae os yr ha6l6z ada6
 yr maef doter croes radda6 nat el. ae oda' Galwet yr
 amdiffyn6z am ura6t. ae yna sef awyl y k'. yuot ef
 heb ha6l yn oes yr argl6yd h6nn6 a⁴ their bu caml6:6
 yr brenhin aherwyd ereiff yn deudyblyc. Mor6yn wreic
 aelwir un arodher y 6z. Ahitheu yn uor6yn a heb gyfgu genti
 o dadeuei d6yn treis arnei. Rei adyweit na dylycowyff.
 fo. 70b. Ereiff ady * weit y dyly Canys y k'. adyweit P6ybynhac

¹ These words have been rubbed out. Letters in round brackets are still traceable.

² ida6 is repeated, but deleted and expuncted.

³ Some words have been rubbed out after kilya6 perhaps a mynu, cf. n. 49, in An. Owen's *Anc. Laws*, vol. ii, p. 23.

⁴ Ends line.

atozho mozbynda6t dylyu o hona6 talu idi y chowyff.
 P6ybynhac aueichoco g6reic o l6yn apherth. Namyn
 yny angho Ny ozuyd erni y ueithrin mis y caueu.
 Sef achos y6 Cany chauas hi grym y g6z Ny wyl y k'.
 dylyu ohoni hitheu uot yn eiffywedic oe achos ef

REi adyweit nat mach mach' gwreic. k'. adyweit pan
 y6 mach mach arodho g6reic. kynny atter mach o
 wreic. Pan watto gwreic uach. Sef ae gwatta g6z
 ygyt ahi. Canys g6z awatta. Pa dyn bynhac y bo
 ha6l arna6 agomed o hona6 heb dyuot y wneuthur ia6n
 am y ha6l y bob dadleu * y bo gomededic ef o hona6. fo. 71a.
 caml6z6 atal. Od²uyd y dyuot ynteu yr dadleu. ac
 ada6 o hona6 yn aghyfreitha6l y dadleu. agal6 oz ha6l6z
 am² ura6t o k'. y gyflauan adoeth ha6l ymdeni y barnu
 awneir yr ha6l6z. achaml6z6 yr argl6yd. ar andiffyn6z³
 am ada6 ymaes o hona6 yn aghyureitha6l yn oes yr
 argl6yd bieiffo y maes y dyd h6nn6 na chaffo ia6n
 ymdana6. Oderuyd ida6 ynteu dyuot yr maes' y diodef
 ha6l ac atter o hona6 a barnu oz k'. ida6 y uot yn
 cottedic. honno agyff yn dragywyda6l. **P**6ybynhac
 adel y dadylua yr argl6yd a ha6l arna6. a dechreu
 y holi. Os ygynghoz yd⁵ a kyn roddi atter cottedic⁶
 uyd. yr am * diffyn6z adyly tyftu Na wad6ys ac am fo. 71b.
 hynny ydyweit y k'. adefredu. . .

¹ About two letters of another word, or part of a word, have been rubbed out at this point.

² Am is followed by u expuncted at end of line.

³ This word is divided between two lines thus, andiffy and n6z.

⁴ The scribe first wrote Meles and then crossed out el and wrote a just above.

⁵ Yd commences a line.

⁶ Cottedic is above line with sign of omission.

Oderuyd y dyn yn dydyeu dedon holi Na chotti na chaffel ny byd yr hynny Ony byd o dodi cotti caffel yndunt ac os hynny adodir yndunt C6byl a¹ cotti ac yuetty am tir adayar yn yr amferoed ydylyir eu cathau.

Val hyn yd eistedir yn dadylua yr argl6yd y dyd y bo goffodedic. k'.² Eisted o: argl6yd ac geuen ar heul Neu ar gwynt ual na bo edrychyn oe 6yneb ae deu heneuyd o bob tu ida6 ae wyrda yny gyleh. ar ygnat ffys rac y deu lin. ac ygnat y kym6t o: neitt tu³ ida6. ar effeirat o: tu araft ida6. a heol gyuar6yneb ae⁴ ef. yuynet yr ura6t le ac ydyuot. ad6y pleit o bob tu⁵ yr fo. 72a. f6rd ar deu gyngha6s yn neffaf * yr f6rd o bob tu idi a deu perchenna6c ha6l yny perued. ar d6y ganffa6 yn neffaf udunt. Pleit yr amdiffynn6: ac eu ffa6 deheu ar y f6rd. a phleit yr ha6l6: ae ffa6 affeu ar y f6rd. ar deu righyft yn feuyft ger bron y deu gygha6s. .

AC yna ymae yr ha6l6: gouyn p6y y gyngha6s. P6y y ganffa6. ac yna gouynher ida6 a dyt ef cotti Neu caffel yn eu penn h6y. ac yna dywedet ynteu y dodi. ac o dyna Gouynher yr amdiffynn6: adyt ynteu ym penn y pleit auo y⁶ gyt ac ef. ac yna ymae ia6n ida6 ynteu adef y dodi. ac ymae ia6n kymryt bot yn cotti caffel yr hyn dywedaffam ni ucho. a honno aelwir yn tyllwed. ac o dyna kyngha6ffed ac o dyna kymeret

¹ a ends line.

² k'. ends line, but with additional stop, a kind of inverted comma.


³ tu begins line.

⁴ ae [*sic*] in my transcript.

⁵ tu begins line.

⁶ y ends line.

yr ygnat y dŏy gynghaŏffed ac eu datcanu ar gynhoed¹
 kyn kychwynu oe le ★ ac gwedy hynny aent yn eu fo. 72b.
 bŏaŏt le. yr ygneit ar effeirat y gyt ac wynt wrthwediaŏ.
 a righyt 6ŏth cadŏy pl(af) abarnet y uraŏt. ac gwedy
 yf barnho dyuot y myŏn. achyn y datcanu kymeret
 dyllwed y mach ary ober. ac gwedy hynny datcanet
 y uraŏt. ac yr neb y barnher yr haŏl Bit dilis idaŏ.

d'uyd y dyn roddi aryant Neu yfgrybyl at araŏt.
 ac oŏ da hŏnnŏ kyfneityaŏ ac elwa oŏ neb y doeth
 attaŏ. a² cheiffaŏ oŏ neb bieiffo yda rann oŏ elŏ. Ny
 dyweit y k'. y dilyn o honaŏ Onyt ammot ae dŏc idaŏ.
 ac am hynny y dyweit y k'. Nae a fŏttt gan diebŏyt
 a honno aelwir yr haŏl diuŏyn E(ith)yr³ hyn arodes at y
 Haŏt. Od²uyd y dyn dyuot yn trŏydet y ty dyn (araŏt)⁴
 ★ ac yfgrybyl gantaŏ Neu da araŏt. panel⁵ y ymdeith fo. 73a.
 nydyly mynet gantaŏ Nae epil Na theil Na chludeir Na
 neb dedef o din Namyn kymeint ac adoeth gantaŏ
 Onyt ammot ae dŏc idaŏ. ac am hynny y dywedir
 Trech ammot no gwir. Od²uyd dŏyn hŏch y gan dyn
 yn lledŏat. a meithrin epil o honi gan y dyn [hŏn]

¹ Gynhoed [*sic*] in my transcript. Aneurin Owen, vol. ii, 40, reads kyhoed, apparently from MS. G. I notice, however, that he pays little attention to marks of contraction of this kind in his Welsh texts, cf. e.g., *supra* at end of fo. 71a, the words ygynghoŏ which he prints, quoting from this MS., ygyghor, vol. ii, 26. The mark of contraction here, however, may only have been intended to represent a dotted y, which would be exceptional in this MS.

² a ends line.

³ E(ith) ends line.

⁴ In the right-hand corner of lower margin are the catch words ac yf in an oblong figure, slightly ornamented.

⁵ el ends line.

(n6).¹ ac g6ybot o: perchenna6e (y ffe)² yd oed acheiffa6
 a hi ae hepil. N(y dyly)² o k'. Namyn hi e hun o
 byd ar gar(n). ac o ny byd Bit heb dim. Can dywe(it
 y k').² yna na uundra ffinwyn. P(6ybynh)ac a6:thotto
 ia6n o achos tebyg(u y uot)² yn argl6yd ary ha6l
 adylyu (holi pan)² uynho. Gatter ida6. ac o: b(yd)
 un dyd a³ bl6ydyn heb y ha6l. a heb ymha6l ymdanei.
 fo. 73b. Bit hitheu yn ha6l dra bl6ydyn. * O hynny affan Ny
 dylyir ia6n ymdanei. Od²uyd y dyn d6yn adauel yn
 aghyureitha6l. atueret yr adauel dracheuyn ar ha6l
 ual yd oed gynt. yna y dywedir Na dyly k'. Nyf g6nel.
 am yrhyn y g6naeth aghyfreith ymdana6 ef a atueruir⁴
 dracheuyn. ar ha6l ual yd oed gynt. Od²uyd y dyn
 mynet yn uach. achyn teruynu yr ha6l yuynet yn
 glau6: Neu yn uanach Neu yn diwyl Neu yny tebyco
 ef Na dylyo atdeb. y k'. adyweit dylyu o hona6 kywira6
 a ada6ffeit tra uo by6. ac un o: ffeod y6 h6n Ny dyly
 mab yn ffe y dat. Sef achos nas dyly Canyt edewif dim
 oe da ida6 Ny dyly ynteu feuytt drofta6 namyn yr egl6ys.
 Od²uyd y dyn holi kyn oet. Na choffi Na chaffel Ny
 fo. 74a. deruyd yr hynny hyt yr oet. Od²uyd dywedut * o
 uo:6yn d6yn treis arnei. ar g6: yn gwadu. adywedut
 o honi hitheu⁵ Ony dugoft ti treis arnaf i. Mo:wyn 6yf
 i etwa. ac fef auarn y k'. y hed:ych ac fef ae hedrych
 yr edling. Od²uyd ida6 y chaffel yn wreic Ny diga6n
 ef gwadu. ac yna⁶ Talet y g6: adywa6t hi arna6

¹ [h6n] ends line and is unreadable, (n6) is traceable, cf. vol. ii, p. 30, n. 21 of *Ancient Laws* for Aneurin Owen's method in cases of this kind. Cf. also *Ibid.*, n. 24, for same purpose.

² End of line and traceable.

³ a ends line.

⁴ uir begins line.

⁵ After hithen the scribe wrote d6, which he crossed out and expuncted.

⁶ y ends a line, and na begins another.

ythreiffa6 y chowyft ae h6ynebwerth idi ae hamobyr
 yr argl6yd. Os keiff ynteu hi yn uo6yn. Bit hitheu ar
 ureint mo6wyn. ae na choffet y breint yr y hedrych.
 Od²uyd d6yn treis ar uo6wyn ae yny treis honno caffel
 o honi ueichogi¹ ae na 6ypo hi p6y ytat. yr argl6yd
 yn mynu ammobyr. Ahithen yn dywedut Na dylyir idi.
 Canyf treis aduep6yt arnei. ae Na dylyir y un wreic y
 dyker treis arnei talu amobyr. Sef ady ★ wit y k'. yna fo. 74b.
 diffodi yr amobyr yr argl6yd Cany atf6ys y chad6 rac treis.
 ae ef yn dylyu y chad6 rac aghyfreith. ae o damheuir
 am y threiffa6. kymeret² y ff6 uot yn wir adyweit. ae
 ar hynny credad6y y6. mab y kyury6 wreic honno. Sef y
 bernir 6:th ureint kenedyl y uam yny 6ypo p6y uo
 y dat. O deruyd y 6: dywedut uot g6reic yn ueicha6e o
 hona6. ar wreic yn gwadu ar g6: yn adef. ar argl6yd
 yn mynu³ amobyr. Talet y g6: yffyd yn adef Canyt oes
 wat drof waffaf. Od²uyd y dyn damd6ng peth a
 gwerth. k'. arna6. a bot yn u6y y damd6ng noe werth
 k'. yr yneit adylyant edrych ae cam y damd6ng. ae os
 cam g6neler arna6. k'. anudon. Sef y6 hynny Na6 ugeint
 caml6:6. ar egl6ys yny ol. Od²uyd y dyn gyrru peth
 ar araff y creireu. ae ynteu ★ yn ymdiheura6. H6nn6 fo. 75a.
 aelwir yn gyfreith anudon Cany eitt Na bo anudon y ff6itt
 l6 o honunt. Od²uyd y dyn gyrru bra6 ar araff.
 ae o: bra6 h6nn6 cotti y eneit o: dyn. Edrycher pa
 herwyd y gyrr6yt y bra6. ae herwyd ydyn a cottes y
 eneit. ae herwyd y bra6. ae os herwyd y bra6 ayrr6yt
 ar na6. Taler y alanas. ae os herwyd peth araff
 yggyr6ys Ny diwygir. P6ybynhac adycco creireu yr dadleu.
 aceu keiffa6 o: pleit araff oed yn erbyn y creireu adoeth
 ganta6 ef. y k'. adyweit Na dyly h6nn6 y creireu

¹ The remainder of G is lost after this point.

² Aneurin Owen (ii, 34, n. 8) reads kymerer.

³ A y is crossed out at this point.

yny darffo ydadleu ef. O hynny attan. kyffredin uyd
y creireu y pa6b. Nyt reit y dadleu ag6ynher y mynwent
ac egl6ys keiffa6 creireu. Canys plas y creireu y6.
Od⁹uyd bot. k'. ydadleu. ac na bo creireu yny maes.
fo. 75b. Sef adywedir Na dylyir ★ oet y geiffa6 y creireu
onyt hyt tra catwo yr ygnat y ura6t le. a hynny ar
ewyffis yr yguat. Od⁹uyd y ygnat barnu cam ac amheu
ymdanei. ac na chynikyfer g6yftyl yny erbyn kyn kynodi
oe ura6t le. Onyf myn Ny dyly y gymryt gwedy
hynny. . . .

TRi chadarn byt. argl6yd. adrut. a didim. Sef achos
y6. Mal maen dros iaen y6 argl6yd. Sef y6 drut.
dyn ynuyt. ac ynuyt ny effir kymheff dim arna6 Namyn
y ewyffis. Dyn didim. Sef y6 h6nn6 dyn heb da ida6.
ac 61th hynny Ny effir kymheff da lle ny bo. Od⁹uyd
y wreie dywedut ar 61 na atto bot¹ genti. ac o hynny
keiffa6 yfgar ac ef. Ja6n y6 proui ae gwir adyweit.
Sef ual y prouir. Tanu ffenthein wein newyd olchi
adanunt. a mynet y g61 y not genti ar warthaf honno.
fo. 76a. a ★ phan del ewyffis y eff6ng ar y ffenthein. ac os geiff
diga6n y6 hynny Ony eiff ynteu hi adiga6n yfgar ac ef.
heb cotti dim o1 eida6.

TRi argay gwaet. Gwaet hyt ran. Gwaet hyt k6ff.
Gwaet hyt la61. Or deu ny dylyir dim. o1 beinir²
diu6yn ymdanunt. Or trydyd ot entlibir Ef adylyir am
waet ledu tir yr argl6yd ohona6. ac o ch6ynir ef
adylyir ia6n am bob un ohonunt ac fef adylyir am bob un
dir6y yr argl6yd. adiu6yn y waet yr neb ry caffo. Neu

¹ bot repeated and crossed out and expuncted.

² The 2 was at first omitted and afterwards placed above the e
and n with mark of omission. MS. D reads, according to Aneurin
Owen (ii, 40), y bydir dig6yn

y diwat herwyd y kyfreith. Cad6 coet adylyir O 6yl
ieuan yd¹ a y moch yr coet hyt ym penn chw(e)chuet dyd
gwedy y kalan. ac yn hynny² o amfer y dylyir Had
meffo6yr.²³ Ot ymda deu dyn tr6y coet² a mynet g6ryfgen
gan yblaenhaf⁴ ar yr olhaf. achoffi ylygat² Ef a dyly talu
y lygat ida6.⁵ *

fo. 76b.

Hyn Ny dylyir credu eu tyftolaeth.⁶

Kaeth. Mut. Bydar. Ynuyt canh6yna6l. Neu ruthra6c.
Neu a⁷ uo ieu no phedeir bl6yd ardec. Hael⁸ byr
Houya6c a treulho⁹ y hoff da. a tygho anudon kyhoeda6c.
atozho priodas yn gyhoeda6c. Brad6r. Neu a lado y dat.
a lycro Ja6n uath. Neu awnel cam uath. a dycco da
egl6yffic. Neu da arafl o egl6ys. a gam uarnho gan y
6ybot. agytyo a g6r arafl Neu ac anyueil arafl. a dycco
cam tyftollaeth gan y 6ybot. .

Yma y teruynha cozff. k'. ar damweineu ygyt.
Mal y ca6ffam ni o6eu¹⁰

¹ yd ends line.

² A hole in MS. separates this word from the next.

³ *Sic* in my transcript, Aneurin Owen says messoby, vol. ii, p. 41, n. 20. He certainly makes this mistake in vol. i, p. 142, § 13, where he reads by for the 6y of V 39a, 17.

⁴ A hole in MS. divides this word into ybla and enhaf

⁵ From dyly to ida6 is placed after colored bracket beneath l. 18, and the hole in MS. divides the first stop from those which follow.

⁶ The eth of this word ends the first line.

⁷ a ends line.

⁸ Hael ends line.

⁹ The lh are ligatured.

¹⁰ This page, fo. 76b, contains 11 lines excluding the rubrics. The first rubric fills a line with the last three letters as the ending of l. 1. The second rubric is divided into three lines, the first being l. 12, and the other, really half-lines, being placed to the right of a large hole in the MS.

TENTATIVE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PENIARTH 37,

Fo. 61a-76b.

[*This translation is based on that of Aneurin Owen, vol. ii, pp. 2-46.*]

Hitherto we have treated of the laws of a court and the
laws of the gwlad. Henceforth of casualties.

Every injury which a person does unwittingly, let him redress wittingly. If idiots kill other persons, let galanas be paid on their behalf like sane persons, because kindred ought to keep them from doing wrong. What sane person soever shall kill an idiot, let him pay galanas like the galanas of a sane person. No compensation is to be made for saraad which shall be received from an idiot, and no compensation is to be made for saraad which he shall receive. Nothing is binding which a drunken person does, neither a surety which he shall give in his drunkenness nor any other pledge (fyd) which he shall promise. If a person becomes rabid fo. 61b. and bites another person with his teeth and death ensues to the person from that bite, the madman's kindred does not compensate for him because from the nature of the disorder did the other lose his life. A dumb person—no saraad is to be paid nor answer given by another person to him because he himself does not speak respecting his claim; unless a lord shall have pity on him and appoint a person who shall speak on his behalf. Deaf and blind—nothing which they shall say in suits is to be received because of them the one saw not and the other heard not; therefore nothing which they shall say, is to be received. As for every other defect, if they be perfect as to their

ears and their tongues and their eyes, their deposition is to be received. Persons of an alien tongue who are not understood as to what they shall say and who themselves understand not what shall be said to them their deposition is not to be received, unless a lord shall have pity on them. fo. 62a. Testimony is possible as to a word and an act, and is not possible as to a thought.

No rabid animal compensates for the injury it does. No animal compensates for their mutual encounter; and the mutual encounter of animals is—a stallion which shall kill another; a bull does not compensate for another; nor a boar for his fellow; nor a ram; nor a cock; nor a gander; nor a buck. If they kill other animals, they are to be paid for. If a person spreads a net on sea or on land and there come either geese or other animals and they be injured because of the net and the net be injured by the animals, neither of them compensates the other. If an ox or another animal goes into a net and injures the net, and the animal escapes, it is right to make compensation, because it is fo. 62b. lawful to spread the net. If there be chattels owing to a person and there be a time granted him for those chattels, and before the time fixed the debtor obtain the chattels and offer them to him, the law states that they ought not to be refused because the time was not granted except for the purpose of obtaining the chattels. Whoever shall have a time allowed him, is owner of the time, and let him do as he shall will, either wait until the time or pay before the time. What animal soever shall kill a boneddig and the kindred seek to impose galanas on his account, they are not entitled although it be acknowledged; and the reason for this is because one person should not pay galanas and a kindred should not pay for the act of an animal of their kinsman; and therefore this is the one

case wherein the murderer is to be paid for instead of his act. Whoever shall owe chattels to another and shall seek

- fo. 63a. to pay immoveable chattels for the debt, there is no obligation to accept immoveable chattels either in payment or as a pledge unless it happens that there are no other chattels in his possession. Immoveable chattels are chattels which cannot be removed in the way one wills. If a person goes to hunt and begins to loose his dogs on a wild animal, whatever animal it may be, and stray dogs come up and kill it; the dogs who first pursued it are to have it unless the stray dogs be those of the lord; and the extent to which the first huntsman has a claim on the animal is until he shall turn his face towards home with his back on the hunt; although his dogs continue the chase, he himself having quitted the dogs, he is to have nothing of it, although the stray dogs shall kill it; only the person
- fo. 63b. who shall own the unwearied dogs. If a traveller from the road sees a wild animal and cast at it with a stone or an arrow and effectually, it is lawful for him to pursue it until he shall overtake it, and it is not lawful for him to shoot nor to pursue unless he is able to do so from the road. If a person hunt for fish and he start them and pursue, and as a result of his pursuit, the fish go into the net of another; by the law the first who started them is to have possession. If persons make an agreement concerning fish in hunting for them and one say, "The first fish which shall be killed are mine"; and the other say, "The last fish which shall be killed are mine"; and there shall be killed only one fish: law says that where there is no equality there must be a sharing of equal parts. If persons hunt for fish and whilst hunting persons come
- fo. 64a. whilst they are being killed and demand a share of the fish, they are entitled unless they shall have been put on withes [dyn for huden of MS. A] or on hooks; if so, they

are to have nothing. There are three supreme seats of a kingly kind:¹ the supreme seat of a lord, and the supreme seat of a bishop and the supreme seat of an abbot; each of them is to hold his supreme seat independently of the others. If the man of a lord does wrong before the supreme seat of a bishop, let him not depart thence without making satisfaction; and likewise a bishop's man before the supreme seat of a lord; and in like manner, an abbot's man before other supreme seats. When the bishop shall die, his chattels belong to the lord, except the vestment of the church and its books and its land; the reason it should be so is that every chattel which shall be without an owner is a "king's waste"; as for an abbot however, a lord is to have nought save his ebediw; when the abbot fo. 64b. shall die, his chattels go to the community (clas) and its canons. Every dispute which shall be among themselves, is to be decided by judges from the community (clas). Every dispute which shall be between an abbot and a lord, is to be decided by the lord's judges together with them. If there be two lords and each has an army in the gwlad and a person come to solicit investiture of land, their grant is no grant and their investiture no investiture until it shall be known which of them is lord of the gwlad. If an uchelwr place his son with an aillt to be fostered with consent of lord and he remain there a year or two or three; when the aillt shall die, unless he has children, what he leaves behind is to come into the foster son's possession; and if he has children, the foster son is to have the share fo. 65a. of one of them. If a Cymric woman be given in marriage

¹ Aneurin Owen gives breynyauc as the reading of A and E; brenhina6l as that of D and Q; and breinha6l as that of F, G, K, U. The reading of U however is bzeninha6l, and as he generally disregards marks of contraction in the Welsh texts, one may surmise that this last is the reading of F, G, K as well.

to an alltud, a son of hers is to have a brother's share of the father's trev; and such is not entitled to a share of the principal homestead; nor is he entitled to office till the third descent, he and his son and his grandson; henceforward, let him receive his right of office and of the privileged homestead unless the alltud be an Irish or Saxon prince (gyholaeth)¹ who is immediately entitled to office and to a share of the privileged homestead: and therefrom is paid cattle without suretyship; cattle without suretyship signifies the share of the alltud father, because he has no kindred in the same gwlad as himself, and those cattle are not shared till the seventh descent like other galanas but
fo. 65b. to the second cousin. If a person give a thing [*read* peth for p6yth] on loan to another and it be not demanded on the morrow, he is not to demand it until the end of a year and a day and then let him take a pledge as for other due.

Ebediws.

Ebediw of a maer canghellor; a pound. Ebediw of a maer; six score pence. Ebediw of a canghellor; six score pence. Ebediw of an aillt, if there be a church on his land; six score pence: otherwise, three score pence. Ebediw of an alltud; twenty four pence. No ebediw is to be paid for increasing land (tir kyunnif). If a person part with his land in his lifetime and he die after that, ebediw is not payable for his land but only for his chattels; if there be no chattels, the ebediw will be extinct; or if he has chat-
fo. 66a. tels, the son is to pay his father's ebediw. Every officer in the court—six score pence is his ebediw except the chief ones of the court, to wit, the steward, chief groom, chief

¹ "A chief not an edling nor head of a family" (Owen, vol. ii, 1117). It apparently signifies one of the offspring of a brenhin or teyrn, excluding the edling; a prince as opposed to a crown-prince so to speak.

falconer, chief huntsman, page of the chamber; a pound is the ebediw of each of them. An innate boneddig and an uchelwr and a cyvarwys man (kyuarfa6c)¹ are to pay ebediw although they may have no land in their possession; they are to pay according to the privilege of the land whereon they were born. If a man has two lords and hold land under each of them, he is to pay ebediw for each of them. If a man holds two lands under one lord, he is to pay ebediw for the one of greater privilege. If an alltud traveller fall ill on a road and die, on whatever land he shall die, twenty four pence is to be paid for his ebediw; fo. 66b. and his chattels for that to the lord; if it be a female, sixteen pence. The amobyrs of the daughters of the men whom we mentioned above, are of the same amount as the ebediws of their fathers. A woman never pays more than one amobyrr, and that she pays according to the privilege of the land she was born on, and no one is to pay for her, only she herself; unless her father or her brothers or her kindred give her without taking surety for her amobyrr, the givers are to pay since they took no surety for it. The reason a woman pays amobyrr once only is because she continues according to the privilege of the lord of that land and not according to the privilege of her kindred but according to the privilege of the man to whom she goes. fo. 67a. For three causes is amobyrr paid: one of them is for gift and investiture before there shall be connexion; the second is for notorious connexion before there be gift and investiture; the third is, for pregnancy. Three daughters who owe no amobyrr: the daughter of an edling and the daughter of a lord and the daughter of a chief of household; the reason they owe not is because their fathers owe

¹ A reads kauarussaue (vol. ii, 14); Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 66, etc.

no ebediw except their steeds and their greyhounds and their hawks and their arms. The daughter of a lord owes no amobyr because there is no one to ask for it; and he is not entitled to the amobyr of his own daughter.

Of a Prince.

No prince owes an ebediw; the reason is because of his large due whereby he is free from every small due, fo. 67b. unless it happens that he takes land and assumes the status of an uchelwr; however bond his land may be, it becomes as free as the land of an uchelwr; and thenceforward he also pays amobyr and ebediw like an uchelwr pays; previous to that he did not pay save as an edling pays.

The amobyr of a chief of kindred's daughter; a pound. Every such person who shall pay amobyr, the amobyr of his daughter shall be of the same amount as his own ebediw.

The amobyr of a chief minstrel's daughter and his own ebediw when a lord shall invest him with the office of a chief minstrel; six score pence. Every other minstrel unless he shall have been privileged [according to] his own due whether he be a proprietor (na thref tada6c) or an alltud; fo. 68a. in like manner he pays his daughter's amobyr and his own ebediw. Every chief minstrel whom a lord shall invest with the office of a chief minstrel—the lord is to procure for him an instrument, to wit, a harp for one, a croud for another, a pipe for the third; and when they shall die, they are to leave them to the lord. Every chief harper is entitled from the young minstrels learning to play the harp and who will to leave off the hair strung harp and to become competitors (yn eirchat)—the chief harper is entitled to twenty four pence, and he receives if demanded the share of two men from what comes from every gratuity either

as a boon or a nuptial gift, whether he be present or not so. A nuptial gift is twenty four pence, if the woman be a bride fo. 68b. [for the first time] and that to the bards; and the chief minstrel is entitled to their service as one in authority over them. Some say that "inquiry as to a stock" relates to a person divested of everything; others say that it relates to an oak cut down without permission on a patrimony; others say that the right meaning of inquiry as to a stock is this, when the kinsmen shall refuse the murderer his share of the galanas and shall ask, "Whence the stock I am related to thee?"; then it is necessary for the murderer to explain to him the stock and how he is kin to him, in the mode we mentioned above; and together with that, that he has co-relatives enough to maintain the truth of what the murderer states; the reason that his co-relatives in that case are elders is because strangers are not to connect a person with his kindred nor to separate him therefrom. fo. 69a.

Father=	Brother=	1 st cousin=	2 nd cousin=	3 rd cousin=	4 th cousin=	5 th cousin
»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Murderer						
Mother=	Brother=	1 st cousin=	2 nd cousin=	3 rd cousin=	4 th cousin=	5 th cousin

If a person kill another by waylaying or by murderous assault, he pays a double galanas as it is a ferocious act; and he is put to death in lieu of one galanas and the other on the kindred; and he is to be executed according to the lord's will whether he shall will slaying or burning or hanging; if he deny let him give a twofold denial for murder, to wit, the oaths [of six hundred men]. If persons poison others, let the lord choose whether to banish them fo. 69b. or to put them to death. If they deny, let them give the oaths of six [hundred men].

If a person claims a thing from another and draws back therefrom on the field [of trial] and prefers being

silent to making the claim, the law allows him to be silent because it is at his option whether to proceed with his claim or not to proceed; although the defendant may call for a decision and on the ground of his drawing back, a decision against him as to the chattels, yet the law does not deem it right to decide against him as to the possessions or his claim, but because he refused the time fixed, that he is without a fixed time on the field. If it happens that he gave surety to abide by what the law should determine, and sit with his party and commence pleading and hear a reply and after that [seek] time

fo. 70a. for aid and say, "I am entitled as I have my option", and then the defendant should say, "Although it might have been at thy option it is no longer so, since a settled thing accords not with choice; and hast thou not chosen to plead? and therefore I appeal to the law that thou shouldest not retract", the law there perceives that he has no resource but to have the law administered promptly; and if the plaintiff be quitting the field let a cross be set up before him that he does not go; and if he goes, let the defendant call for a decision and then the law provides that he is barred from proceeding with his claim during the time of that lord; and three kine camlwrw to the king and according to others, twice that. A virgin wife is the name given to one who is betrothed to a husband and she remaining a virgin and not slept with; if a rape be acknowledged on her, some say she is not entitled

fo. 70b. to cowyll. Others say she is entitled because the law says that whoever shall violate virginity should pay to her, her cowyll. Whoever shall cause the pregnancy of a woman of bush and brake, until she shall have given birth¹

¹ Prof. Rhŷs, in reply to my request as to this and another passage (see next note), kindly sent me the following translation of *namyn yny angho*—"until she shall have given birth, until she have been delivered".

it is not incumbent on her to nurse the offspring during [other MSS. read longer than] the swaddling month, because since she has not had the support of the man, the law does not consider that she should be in want on his account.

Some say that the surety of a woman is no surety; the law says that the surety which a woman shall give is a surety although no woman can be a surety herself. When a woman shall deny a surety, a man denies it with her, for it is a man who denies. Any person against whom there is a claim and who refuses and fails to come to do right in regard to such a claim pays camlwrw to every fo. 71a. court which he shall have refused to come to. If he shall come to the court and withdraw from the court unlawfully, and the plaintiff call for the law's decision, the cause for which the claim arose is to be awarded to the plaintiff; and camlwrw to the lord; and the defendant for leaving the field unlawfully is to receive no redress therefor during the time of the lord who shall own the field on that day. If he come to the field to suffer pleading and reply and the law decide that he has lost, he loses that suit for ever. Whoever appears in the court of the lord in a cause and begins to be questioned; if he takes counsel before giving a reply, he is to be condemned; the defendant is to testify he did not deny and on that fo. 71b. account the law states it is acknowledged.

If a person sue during the blank days, he does not on that account either lose or gain; unless the issue of loss or gain be so stipulated; and if it be so stipulated, the whole is lost; and in like manner as to land and soil in the times when the courts are to be shut.

The following is the legal form of sitting in the lord's court on the day appointed for law: the lord is to sit with his back to the sun or to the wind so that the brunt of the weather may not be on his face, having his two elders one on each side of him and his nobles around him, and the judge of the court in front of his knees, and the judge of the commote on one side of him and the priest on the other side, and a passage fronting him for him to go and come to his judgment seat; and two parties on each side of the way with the two pleaders nearest to the way on either side thereof, and the two suitors in the cause in the middle and the two guiders next to them; the defendant's party with their right hand towards the way and the plaintiff's party with their left hand towards the way; and the two apparitors standing before (gen bron) the two pleaders.

Then the plaintiff is to ask, "Who is thy pleader? who is thy guider?" and then let him be asked whether he will abide loss or gain at their hands, and then let him say he will; and then let the defendant be asked whether he also will abide [loss or gain] at the hands of the party which shall be with him, and then it is right for him to promise that he will; and it is right to take security that they abide loss or gain in respect to what we have mentioned above; and that is called a compact; and then the pleadings. And then let the judge take the two pleadings and recapitulate them publicly before moving from his place, and after that let them go to their judgment seat, the judges and the priest with them praying and an apparitor keeping his place, and let him adjudge the sentence; and after he shall adjudge it, he is to come in, and before pronouncing it, let him take the security of the surety for his fee; and after

that let him pronounce sentence ; and to the one in whose favour the case shall be decided it remains established.

If a person give money or an animal to another and the receiver barter with such chattels and gain thereby and he who owns the chattels shall demand a share of the gain, the law does not say that he is entitled to it unless an agreement assign it to him; and therefore the law says that money (f6htt) is not to be stationary, and that is called the fruitless claim [for he receives] only what he gave to the other. If a person comes to stay a while at another's house, having an animal with him or other chattels: fo. 73a. when he departs, he is not to take with him the offspring or dung or crop nor [has he] any right as regards anything,¹ only what he brought with him, unless an agreement assign it to him; and therefore it is said, An agreement is stronger than justice. If a sow is taken away stealthily by a person and she rear offspring with that person, and the owner know where she was and should demand both her and her offspring, he is not entitled by law save to her alone if she be in existence; and if she be not, he is to have nothing, for the law says then, A flood will not render muddy [in its course more than is taken by it]. Whoever shall refuse right from supposing that he is paramount in his claim and that he is entitled to claim when he will, let him be; and if he neglects his claim for a day and a year and does not proceed with it, it becomes a claim beyond the year; thenceforward there is fo. 73b. to be no justice as to it. If a person illegally take a distress, let the distress be returned and the cause remain

¹ Na neb dedef o dim. According to *Ancient Laws*, ii, 30, n. 9, dotrefnyn is the reading of D and F, dedyf of G and U, dynot of K, and diod6f of Q. Prof. Rhys writes, "(?) 'nor any right as regards anything', but I should think it more likely there was a mistake of some kind here; but dodrefnyn does not look very probable either."

as before; in such a case it is said that he is not entitled to law who does not conform to it; that which he did illegally is made good and the cause is as it was before. If a person become a surety, and before the termination of the suit become a leper or a monk or blind or should suppose that he is not to answer, the law says that he is to make good what he promised while he lives; and this is one of the places where a son is not to stand in lieu of his father; the reason is because he has left none of his chattels to him, therefore he is not to stand for him except to [*or it be*] the church. If a person sue before the time appointed for loss or gain, it will not thereby avail him

fo. 74a. until the time. If a virgin declare that she has been raped and the man deny and she then say, "If thou didst not commit a rape upon me, I am still a virgin", the law then adjudges her to be examined and that by the edling. If he find her become a woman, the accused cannot deny, and then let the man whom she charges with having violated her pay her cowyll and her wynebwerth to her and her amobyr to the lord. If he find her to be a virgin let her retain the status of a virgin and let her not lose her privilege, her examination notwithstanding. If a rape be committed on a virgin and she become pregnant in consequence and she know not who the father may be and the lord demand amobyr and she say that she ought not to pay it because a rape was committed on her and no woman

fo. 74b. who is raped is to pay amobyr; the law says in that case the amobyr to the lord is extinguished since he was unable to preserve her against rape and he bound to preserve her against injustice; and although she be doubted as to her having been violated, let her make an oath that what she says is true and after that she is to be believed. The son of such a woman is adjudged to take the status of his mother's kindred until she shall know who his father may

be. If a man assert that a woman is pregnant by him and the woman deny it and the man confess it and the lord demand amobyr, let the man pay who confesses it, for there is no denial against a gwaesav. If a person appraise a thing which has a legal worth, and the appraisement be more than its legal worth, the judges are to ascertain whether the appraisement is wrong, and if wrong, let him submit to the law of perjury, that is, a camlwrw of nine score pence and the church to proceed against him. If a person make a charge against another upon the relics and he clear himself, that is called in law a perjury, for it fo. 75a. cannot be but that one of the oaths is false. If a person cause fright to another and from that fright the person lose his life, let it be ascertained for what purpose the fright was caused, whether to frighten the person who lost his life or for some other purpose [*reading* peth arall for y bra6]; if for the sake of the person [*reading* y dyn for y bra6] who was frightened, let his galanas be paid; and if for another purpose it was done, there is to be no redress. Whoever shall bring relics to the pleadings, and the other party opposed to him ask for the relics so brought by him, the law says that such a one is not entitled to the relics until his pleadings be over; thenceforward, the relics are common to all. There is no need to ask for relics in the pleadings which are brought forward in the churchyard and church, for it is the place of relics. If law be declared in the pleadings and there be no relics in the field, it is said that no time is to be granted to procure the relics fo. 75b. save as long as the judge remains in his judgment seat; and that at the option of the judge. If a judge deliver a wrong judgment and it be doubted and a pledge be not offered against him before he rises from his judgment seat; unless he will, he is not to accept it after that.

Three strong ones of the world: a lord and a headstrong person and a pauper. The reason is: a lord is like a stone along the ice; a headstrong person is an idiot, and an idiot is not to be ruled in anything against his will; a pauper is a person who has no chattels, and therefore chattels cannot be exacted where there are none. If a woman assert against her husband *quod vir non potest copulare*, and for that reason seek to separate from him, it is right to prove whether what she says is true. Thus it is to be proved: [*lex requirit*] *lintheamen album recens lotum sub illis expandi et virum in illud ire* fo. 76a. *pro re venerea et urgente libidine eam super lintheamen projicere; et si fiat satis est; et si non possit, potest se sejungere ab eo* without losing aught of the property.

Three stays of blood: blood to the brow (*hyt ran*), blood to the stomach, blood to the ground. For the two there is to be nothing owing if it be determined that they are not to be compensated; for the third, if matter of scandal, there is due for making the earth bloody, to the lord thereof; and if there be complaint, satisfaction is due for every one of them, and what is due for every one is a *dirwy* to the lord; and there is no compensation for his blood to the one who shall receive [the wound] or who says so, according to the law. Woods are to be preserved from the Festival of St. John, when the swine shall go into the woods, until the end of the sixth day after the Kalends [of January], and within that time the pannage ought to be completed. If two persons be walking through a wood, and a branch, by the passing of the one in front, should strike the one behind and his eye be lost, he is to pay him for his eye.

These are they whose testimony is not to be credited. fo. 76b.

Bondman, a mute, a deaf person, an innate idiot, or maniac, or one who shall be less than fourteen years old, a spendthrift who shall have exhausted all his chattels, one who shall swear notorious false oaths, one who shall publicly break his marriage vow, a traitor, or one who shall kill his father, one who shall debase true coin or who shall make false coin, one who shall purloin ecclesiastical chattels or other chattels from a church, one who shall wittingly give wrong judgment, one who shall have sexual intercourse with another man or with another animal, one who shall wittingly bear false witness.

Here terminates the body of the laws together with the casualties as we found them best.

Brief Glossary of Welsh Words in the Translation.

aillt—villein, or serf.

alltud—foreigner, person from another patria.

anobyr—fee payable to lord on marriage of a female.

boneddig—person of free innate lineage, the Cymro proper.

camlwrw—fine payable to the lord.

canghellor—territorial officer who determined disputes among king's villeins, etc.

coryll—gift of bridegroom to bride morning after nuptials.

cyrarwys—rights belonging to a free kinsman when he came of age.

ebediw—heriot, relief payable to lord on death of member of a free kindred.

edling—heir-apparent.

galanas—homicide and payment for homicide.

gwaesav—"pledge, or guarantee" (*Ancient Laws*, ii, 1117).

gwlad—patria, or country.

gwynebwerth—"face worth", a fine payable to a woman.

maer—territorial officer who regulated villeins, etc.

saraad—insult and payment for insult.

uchelwr—nobleman.

The Correspondence

OF

DR. JOHN DAVIES OF MALLWYD WITH SIR
SIMONDS D'EWES.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. G. HARTWELL-JONES, M.A.

IN the course of the compilation of the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum* by Mr. Edward Owen, the following letters of Dr. John Davies to the well-known collector and antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, were alighted upon in two volumes of the Harley collection. They were copied by Mr. Owen for the purpose of inclusion in his *Catalogue*, but it was afterwards thought that they were too long for insertion in their entirety. They, however, afford an interesting glimpse, and add a few particulars to what has hitherto been known of the Welsh lexicographer, and Mr. Owen having handed his transcripts over to me, I have revised them against the originals, and have appended a translation. The volumes in which they occur comprise a collection of historical extracts made by or for Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and include a number of original letters written to him by contemporary scholars, with drafts of his replies to his correspondents. It is much to be regretted that only two of Dr. Davies's letters have been preserved, for it is quite clear that several others must have passed between the two friends.

G. H.-J.

[Harl., 378, f. 57.]

Viro gravissimo JOHANNI DAVIES, S.T.D., SIMONDS D'EWES,
E[ques] a[uratus], S.T.D.

Ignoscas mihi vir doctissime quod rariores mei Te compellant codicilli; amissa enim quâ fruebar libertate privatus publici nec mei juris mancipium existo. In toto vix mihi menstruo hora literis exarandis vacat imo sæpius incenatus, sæpiissime impransus incedo; in magnis scilicet regni Comitibus justitium plane exulat, unde in ipso domini Natali ultimum elapso tribus duntaxat lusimus diebus, atque nos interim totos fere integros, quatuor menseis vernaculæ assueti, cæterarum linguarum ne mireris si obliviscamur. Eruditissimos Tuos priores mihi tradidit codicillos Pughus, multis mihi nominibus charus, præcipue vero quod nostræ pararius extitit amicitiae; posteriores hac ipsâ nocte læto etiam amplexi sumus animo. Utrosque expectatissima proverbiorum Celticorum interpretatio excepit. Aliquot utinam superiorum seculorum de religione et fide Britonum erui possent monumenta; homilias et id genus alia receptam veterum Anglo-Saxonum theologiam testantia etiamnum offendimus; uti et nonnulla in Gildâ Albanio, Gildâ Badonico et Saxonico veteri ante Bedam ut pote qui Pendæ regis Merciorum tempore scripsit anonymo et Nennio de religionis inter Britones christianæ dogmatis sparsim eliciuntur: ex Thaliessini etiam poematis, ni fallor, theologica plurima colligere potis eris. Unicum tibi locupletis tuæ messis vice adagium omnium Gymnasiorum parietibus inscribendum Anglo-Saxonicum remitto plura σὺν Θεῷ collecturus.

Eala gif ic rædde on geogoðe þonne eude nu ic

O si ego legissē in inventute tunc cognovissē nunc ego
sum god
aliquid boni

Communis noster amicus Pughus quæ de vetustissimis Britannico idiomate exaratis chronicis in thesauro Cottoniano repertis cum versione Latinâ vel Anglicâ excudendis consulimus, Tibi referet, interim Vale, Vir doctissime, et Tuo me semper frui. Londini iv id. Mart. MDCXL.

[Harl., 378, f. 54.]

*Draft letter of SIR SIMONDS D'EWES to DR. JOHN DAVIS,
Mallwyd.*

Viro eruditiss. Johanni Davis sacrae theologiae D. Simonds D'Ewes Eques auratus S.T.D. Fæliciter mihi, vir gravissime, iv kalendas Septembreis nuper elapsas accidit, quod David Lluidum Hospicii Graiensis alumnus in officina librariâ etiamsi mihi ignotum compellaverim familiaritatis inter nos paratio non opus erat, Britannicam originem gesta Britannica extemporaneo illi exposuimus alloquio. In illâ provincia et in vera asserendâ Anglo-Saxonum et Normanno-Anglorum Historiâ ex Archivis ipsis magnam partem vindicandâ totos jam duodeviginti annos desudavimus, verum vobis priscorum Cimbrorum reliquiis exhibebimus Brutonem Hesicionis filium ex Gomero oriundum, non larvatum illum Brutum Phrygianum ex Pryduidum commentis quo se et gentem suam Dominis Romanis insinuarent propinatum. Non hoc ex proprio quod absit cerebro sed ex vetustissimis quo Gulielmi Camdeni picta et ficta Britannici nominis deductio elimenetur, monumentis vindicabimus. Dum hæc et id genus alia animitus et amice relibamus ego sollicitè de tua illum salute rogitò, ubi terrarum jam nunc degeres, quo vectore codicillis meis ob studiorum nostrorum necessitudinem te compellarem. Id in se officii ocyus humanissimè amplexus est Lluidus et illum impresentiarum præstolor ut has a me tibi deferendas accipiat literas. Sis exoratus Proverbiorum Britannicorum ad illum mittere versionis exemplar quod ego describendum ita foliis curabo ut possim debitis suis in tuo Lexico eruditissimo locis compingere. Ego jam pene totus in Lexico Anglo-Saxo-Latinoquo excudatur limando occupatus sum. In Prolegomenis ex tuâ prefatione multa erunt nostris inserenda et amplianda. Nescio an cum mercatore illo sagacissimo nomine Williams colloqui tibi acciderit. Retulit ille v. cl. Roberto Cottono et mihi Britannicam cum Tartarorum in omnibus pene vocabulis conspirare linguâ. Facile etiam se ostensurum quibus regionibus emensis huc evenerunt ex ipsis a se locorum nominibus in transeundo latis spondit. Spero nos postliminio tandem Londini instanti decurso justitio posse convenire, et mutuis de his et aliis ad rem Britannicam spectantibus apicibus plenius transigere. Interim vale vir gravissime

meque semper fruire, Tibi addictissimo, SIMONDS D'EWES.
Londini pridie Kalend. Sept. MDCXL.

[Harl., 378, f. 61.]

Theologo gravissimo amico suo colendissimo Johanni Davies S. T. Doctori, Malloydæ in agri Montegomerici confinio.

Nuper a te vir gravissime codicillos Anglico idiomate exaratos Malloydæ in agri Montegomerici confinio die xv Januarii 1641 datos accepi. Latiales sanè mihi gratiores quo tua magis elucesceret eruditio futuri. De Celticis quod innuis adagiis enucleatus a te latinitate donatis, et mihi et bono publico opus gratissimum feceris. Quæ ad me prius misisti remittam cum nova acceperim et ne omnino tibi ingratus viderer chronicorum ectypum vetustissimi vestri Historiographi Gildæ Albanii (qui annum circiter dxx inter vivos esse desiit) ex MS. pervetusto publici. Thesauri in Academia Cantabrigiensi librarii descriptum uti reor tibi heic inclusum offerimus. Verum est aliquem suos centones librarium ex Henrico Huntingdonensi maiorem partem excerptos assuisse: quod nos ad istius voluminis antiqui elenchum sub initio primum annotavimus. Hunc etiam authorem vetustissimum Anglo-Saxonicus quidam Anonymus pene totum descripsit atque quasdam sue gentis genealogias in fine chronicorum adiecit, vixit iste author circa annum Dñi dcxx et historiam suam contexuisse videtur annum circiter decimum Merciorum Regis Pende. Perantiquus hujus historiæ liber MS. in Bibliothecâ servatur Cottonianâ cui titulus vitiosissimus ipsius dum vixit Roberti Cottoni, ni fallor, auspiciis appositus, quasi Nennii esset historia, cum ipse Nennius ducentos sexaginta postea annos historiam suam ex ipso Anglo-Saxonico Anonymo descripsit et ingennè Genealogias illas Anglo-Saxonicas ut-pote Magistro suo Beulano minus necessarias omisisse se fatetur. Ex hoc enatum est errore quod doctissimus ipse Jacobus Usserius Archiepiscopus Armachanus et alii tria ista de veteribus Britannis chronica uni Nennio contra omnem historia veritatem in summo ascribunt anachronismo. Lexicon nostrum Teutonico-Latino-Anglicum brevi *σύν Θεῶν* cum Prolegomenis imprimendum curabimus. Et quia illa apud nos invaluit opinio quod gens ipsa Teutonica Sacis, Persarum populo,

olim oriunda esset et rarissimos mihi aliquot libros MS. linguâ et elementis Persicis elegantissime exaratos comparavi et ope doctissimi juvenis cujusdam Germani cognomine Raniĵ egregiam illorum raritatem didici. Unus inter alios extat Liber qui *Lughat Shamil* appellatur id est lexicon Shamil in quo non duntaxat vocabula Persica eadem explicantur linguâ sed ad unumquamque pene vocem Historicorum et Poetarum Mahumetanorum authoritatis citantur: et multa illic identice scripta et cum veteri ista Anglorum vernaculâ significantia offenduntur, quorum aliquot edenda in prolegomenis specimina decrevimus. Aliquam de tuo peculio minui partem qui literis qui eleemosynis invigiles mæstissime tulerim, nisi te scirem tui privati rationem minimè habiturum modo Dei gloriæ et eulogiæ prosperitati consuleretur. Etsi enim tu fortassis binarum ecclesiarum pastor utriusque quantum fieri posset sategeris quot tamen heu quot inertes et scelesti bipedes decimarum cogendarum potius quam animarum pascendarum curam agunt. Inter multa negotia et curarum farraginem hoc raptim ad te scripsi. Vale vir doctissime et amare pergas. Tui observantissimum Simonds D'Ewes. Visimonasterii xiv kalendas Martii Juliani mdcxli.

[Harl., 374, f. 168.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES, *Mallwyd, co. Merioneth*, to SIR
SIMONDS D'EWES; 2 February 1640.

Splendidissimo multaque eruditione clarissimo Viro D' Simonds D'Ewes, Equiti aurato, omnem felicitatem. Unde hoc mihi quod jam senex annorum 73, a tanto tanta moliente viro ab oris tam longinquis ad Geticos hos usque scopulos, indignus et saluter, et de musis consular? Sed mirari desino, et hoc, Eques clarissime, nulli meo aut fato aut merito, sed beneficiæ tuæ naturæ, et sum'æ humanitati defero. Nobilis ille Brito, M^r Da. Lloyd, Graiensis, qui literas ad me tuas melle onustas fideliter misit, et quem tuo apud bibliopolam dignatus es alloquio, nondum mihi, vel de facie, vel de nomine innotuit; cui tamen, te potissimum suggerente innotescere valde cupio. Gratias tibi, Eques illustriss., quam plurimas me debere profiteor, et quantas possum maximas habeo, ago; tum proprio, tum proprio, tum Britonum meorum nomine. Horum, quod

in nostræ gentis veram asserendam originem tantum olei et operæ impenderis. Proprio, quod de salute meâ quem quod sciam nunquam vidisti, tam fueris sollicitus, et ubi terrarum agerem, degerem, seiscitari dignatus; præcipue quod præfationi meæ impolitæ tantum tribuis. Ego, quæ est mea in Historiis insecitia, quis sit ille Bruto à Gomero oriundus, aut eius genitor Hesicio, nescire me ingenuè agnosco. Præter quam quod de his legi in vetusto illo Gildæ, ut putatur abbreviatore MS. quem à se in Walliâ dudum repertum ait Jo. Priseus miles in *Historiæ Brit. Defensione*, pag. 63, et quem Nennium, ait Leylandum existimare, pag. 25. Hunc tamen Hesicionem appellat MS. illud Hesichian et Hesichion, filiumq'ue eius non Brutum ut Jo. Priseus, aut Brutonem sed Britonem et Brittonem (si hæc nominum differentia alicuius esse videatur momenti) hosq'ue non à Gomero Japheti sed à Jauan deducit. Sed me in Historiis parum versatum intellige, et quem in hisce tuis studiis consulas planè indignum. Quæ in Præfatione Dictionarii de Bruto nostro dicta sunt, fecit tempore illo occurrens occasio, ut lectis Historicis nonnullis expiscarer. Versionem quam cupis *Proverbiorum Brit.* ego, cum tuas literas acciperem, nullam habui. Acceptis, me statim ad eorum interpretationem accingo, et folia nonnulla una cum his mitto, reliqua, favente Deo, brevi missurus. Tu, Eques clarissime, hilari, scio, accipies vultu; et si qua Adagiorum nostratum, frigidiuscula et parum elegantia videbuntur, illud hinc evenire non nescis, quod nullius linguæ scripta, præsertim Proverbia (maximè ad verbum, ut hic ferè reddita) in aliam linguam transfundi possunt, quin multum gratiæ et veneris, quam in propriâ habent linguâ, decedat. Et sunt in omnibus linguis multæ voces ambiguae, quæ in aliâ linguâ no' semper ambiguè reddi possunt. Et plura adagia ex vocum oriuntur ambiguitate. Hoc etiam habent peculiare, inquit Erasmus, pleraque proverbia, ut in ea linguâ sonare postulent, in qua nata sunt. Ut sunt vina quædam quæ exportari recusent, nec germanum obtineant saporem, nisi in quibus proveniunt locis. Et foueri ait Scaliger, de subtilitate ad Cardanum, in omni linguâ quasdam sententias, certis suæ linguæ quasi fulturis subnixas, quæ si in aliam quasi coloniam deducas, gratiam pristinæ recomendationis non retinebunt. Has qui transfert, quasi frænum imponit bovi. Dabis etiam veniam, Eques Clariss., si, quod in Proverbiis fieri oportuit, non explicem quotupliciter

proverbium quodq. adhiberi, et à nobis accipi soleat; quem obtineat usum, et quæ eius usus ratio. Nec putabis omnia paræmias esse quæ sub hoc titulo veniunt, ut nec in aliarum gentium proverbiiis. Nam et inter eas plures sunt *γνώμαι*. Chriæ, apologi, similitudines Apophthegmata plura; plura piè, scitè, docte acute arguteque dicta. Plura parænctica, monita, consilia. Quæ omnia significationis suæ ambitu complectitur Hebræa vox *maskal*, unde proverbialia Solomonis dicta sunt *mishlé*; et Arabica vox *mathsala*, unde Adagia sua dicunt *Amthsalo*, quod et manifestè satis docet ipse Solomon in titulo Proverbiorum, Prov. I, i. Paraboke inquires, Solomonis ad sciendam sapientiam et disciplinam, ad intelligenda verba prudentiæ et suscipiendam eruditionem doctrinæ, iustitiam, et iudicium et æquitatem. Denique, Adagia nostra meve his attentum *φλναρίας* non accusabis. Animum tibi obsequendi non defuturu[m] videbis. An aliquid sinus præstituri tuum esto iudiciu[m]. Tuum erit vel atrum vel album calculum adijcere. Dabo operam ut nec te postulati, nec me obsequii pæniteat. Tu, Vir Clarissime,

Σπάρτην ἦν ἔλαχες ταύτην κόσμει.

Partumque illum informem à me in Præfatione temerè enixum relumbito. [Est et alia Præfatio Gram'aticæ Brit. Billii typis 1621 editæ præfixa.] Venerem illam à me pictorum imperitissimo utcumque inchoatam, docto tuo penicillo, ad perfectionem debitam perducito. Fidem literis ad me tuis obstrinxisti. Hunc libera. Nec dubitabis conatibus tuis piis adfuturum Deum, præmiaque olim laborum cumulatissimè repensurum. Ego interim Deum O.M. supplex oro, vt annorum tuorum filum plureis protendat in annos; tuisque studiis indies magis magisque benedicat Atque Αἰὲν γηράσκω πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

Malloyd in M'ioneth shier, 2^o Februarii 1640. Jo^s. DAVIES.

[*Postscript.*]—M[agist]rum Williams, Londinensem, mercatorem non cognovi. Eius nominis aurarium nuper dictum Captaine Will'ms cuius domiciliu[m] in Chepside probè noui etiam ab ipsâ iuventute. Et hic fortè is est quem mercatorem indigetis. Is mihi sæpius de linguâ et gente nostrâ talia fere narravit qualia scribis; et libros se mihi ostensurum, et mutuo daturum pollicitus est, qui quæ affirmabat, radiis clarius solaribus demonstrarent; quos tamen, licet plurimu[m] à me desideratos, ut quos multum ad rem meam facturos credebam, nunquam mihi

ostendere, nedum mutuo dare voluit; quamvis sæpius importunè rogatus, dum per integrum plus minus annum Loudini agebam, Dictionarium illud qualecunque Britannicum emissurus. Verba tantum, quæ mihi à die in diem dedit plurima, audiui: Librorum ne unum quidem vel vidi.

[Harl., 376, f. 50.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Honoratissimo et multâ eruditione clarissimo viro D. Simonds D'Ewes, equiti aurato, omnem fælicitatem.

Literas tuas eques clarissime, in æstu et fluctibus negotiorum Reip. exaratas, avidis sum amplexus ulnis, ut quæ μέγιστον tui in me amoris δείγμα sunt et τεκμήριον probantque posse te in mediis curis quasi per ludum, quantum alii ne cum sudore quidem in summâ otii abundantîâ. In his et in illis ad nobilem meum amicum et vicinum R.P.¹ magnum et grave, sed amicum mihi intendis iurgium, quòd Anglicano idiomate literas ad te dederim, ut quibus minus ais meam innotescere eruditionem. Sed me purgo. Toto sanè cælo, terrâ, marique errat, si quis in me thesauros ullos doctrinæ reconditos existimet, aut aliquod literarum penu. Et siquod esset, quod scio quàm sit exiguum valdè, hoc nulla lingua occultare potest. Et hujusmodi epistoliis magis convenire existimo, sensa animi candidè et apertè enunciare, quàm eruditionem ostentare. Et mihi in Seythiâ hac et à literis remotâ, semper vel Anglicè vel Britanicè scribere consuetum, Latinè ferè nunquam. Genius iste Romanus in me una cum vasculo hoc figulino emarcuit totus et elumbis factus est. Quid, quod et instinctu quodam arcano scribenti fortasse Anglicà suggerente, praesagiebat intus animus complures post hac futuros Doctores, quos vocant. Anglicanos, si beneficiis spoliari doctiores Deus voluerit. Credo verissimum esse quod scribis, et plurimis amplector gratiis. Te meum minui peculium molestè laturum, nisi me scires bonum Ecclesiæ publicum privato commodo præpositurum. Sed an omnes ita affectos existimas, Eques illustrissime? Vereor complures, proh dolor, decimis nostris inhiare; tantumque abesse ut docentibus

¹ Sir Richard Price, son of Sir John Price, of Brecon.

communicent in omnibus bonis, aut effossos illis dent oculos, ut optarent potius gratis sibi prædicari evangelium Dei. At si unico tantum beneficio curato quemque ecclesiasten, nullâ aut graduum aut meritorum habitâ ratione, honorare commodum videbitur, O'utinam supplicibus libellis petere liceret, ut suæ cuique beneficio in integrum restituantur decimæ, quæ tot consuetudinibus, præscriptionibus, compositionibus, exemptionibus, detinentur; ut de impropriatis quæ in feudum laicum transiisse volunt nonnulli, et de quarum restitutione ferè desperatur, nihil dicam. O dignum tanto Honoratissimo Consessu consilium. Prodigiousa sanè res est quæ sine delectu fit beneficiorum cumulatio, nec monstrosa minus quàm in Fabulis Briareus et Geryon. Non minus tamen indecorum fuerit Davidis armis Saulum induere, quàm Sauli armis Davidem. Sed vela contraho, ne vel falcem in alienam messem mittere videar, vel dum scribendo me gratum tibi probare studeo, orationis inopiâ et paupertate infantiam meam prodam. Nulla in meis scriptis, quâ delecteris, medulla. Ignosce, eques illustrissime, siquid deliqui. Ignosce si literarum tuarum ὑστέροις πρώτως respondeam. Ignosce si δευτέρας ἐμὰς in Adagia φροντίδας quarum te non modico tangi desiderio novi, serius acceperis. Accepturum nullus dubita exemplar priore longè emendatius; quod volo non tam per epistolam tibi promissum, quam per syngrapham sponsum. Quoad describam expecta. Malo enim hoc à me ipso fieri quàm ab alio, quo et scriptis et scribendis attentior esse possim, et quæ prius obscura fuere facilius illustrare, quæ mendosa corrigere queam moram denique industriâ compensare. Si tibi gratæ sint futuræ, hoc mihi gratissimum: hoc est quod laboro. Gratissimus sane mihi Gildæ tui Albanii complexus, quem nunc vicinus amicus in historiis benè satis versatus, habet, cum suo exemplari conferendum. Illum nunc non restituo, quo, si tibi fuerit visum, amicus iste meus loca discrepantia in margine MS. tui connotet; quod te inconsulto fieri nolui. Felix faustaque sit Lexici tui evulgatio. Felicem Angliam istâ luce, quæ ad posteros etiam suos diffundet radios. Vereor ne tuis occupationibus nimis fuerim molestus. Deus omnia vestra consilia in suam gloriam, Ecclesiæ bonum, populi salutem dirigat, qui omnia suis in bonum, etiam præter hominum mentem, votum dirigit. Vale, Eques amplissime, vale diu, vale Deo, ecclesiæ Reip. Tuis; et virtutis, doctrinæ, nominis

tui cultoribus. Accense tui observantissimum Jo. DAVIS, Malloydæ in agro Merioneth, Pridie Kl. Maii 1642.

Diu te expectasse scribis, à me audire, siquid in vetustis scriptis Britannicis Telesini aliorum, de liturgiâ et theologiâ observaverim. Modicum sanè, quod ad rogatum Reverendi viri Jo. Barkham SS. Th. D. ante aliquot annos descripsi eique missum curavi, qui tecum, credo, lubens, illud communicabit. Ego exemplar quod apud me servavi, ne multorum quidem dierum scrutinio assiduo invenire potui. Si non inventum repertum fuerit aliquando, ad te mittere non negligam.

Placet tibi, eques ornatissime, ad unicam hanc quæstionculam tuo me dignari responso; quibus coram iudicibus, enervatâ jam, ut creditur Ecclesiastici fori potestate, et avulso aculeo, Decimas non solventes postulare possimus? An parat, an paraturus est Honoratissimus ille Consensus, ullum nobis tempestivum hac in re remedium? Si beneficiorum altero exui, alterius decimis in incerto relictis, nobis contingat, miserrimi omnium sumus.

[*Enclosure.*].—Ne me tui memorem esse dubites, Eques clarissime, En tibi tractatum de ludis gymnasticis et certaminibus Britannorum, qui Adagiis Britannicis subnecti solet, Latinitate donatum: præfixo proemio de ludis et certaminibus Græcorum, et aliarum gentium.

Y pedair camp ar hugain
Viginti quatuor certamina.

[*Enclosure.*].—Cum hasce jam jam obsignaturus essem literas, subitò occurrit memoria poetæ cujusdam locus, quem postulante Reverendo D. Barkhamo prius notâram, de duobus defunctorum receptaculis, qui circa annum D'ni 1240 sic cecinit—

Dau edrydd, y sydd, a synhwyriawr
Dau, erbyn angau, anghychwiawr
Doethwlad nef, addef, Addaf wychawr, sail;
Uffern yw yr ail, ddurail ddyrawr.

Latine ad verbum sic—

Duo reditus sunt qui sentiuntur (vel censentur i.ex doctorum sententiâ)

Duo erga mortem inconsimilia

Sapiens-regio, cæli, domicilium Adæ, elegantis foundationis;

Infernus est secundus, chalybeæ vehementiæ.

Poeta est Llywarch brydydd y môch (Learchus poeta suum, vel potius Poeta celer, promptus) qui licet recentior sit, hic tamen videre est, etiam tunc temporis manere antiquorum Britonum theologiæ reliquias, nec in mediis ignorantiae tenebris apud nos deesse veritatis assertores inter quos hic Poeta.

TRANSLATION.

SIMONDS D'EWES, *Knight*,¹ D.D., to the Reverend JOHN DAVIES, D.D.

PRAY, pardon me, learned sir, for addressing you by letter rather seldom. But having lost the private liberty which I used to enjoy, I am a slave under public orders, and not my own master. For a whole term, of a month's duration, I have hardly had an hour for correspondence. Nay, rather, I often go without dinner, very often without lunch. While Parliament is sitting a vacation is absolutely out of the question. Hence, even last Christmas I had only three days holiday, and having since then been used to my native tongue, for nearly four whole months, do not be surprised if I forget others. Pugh handed me your erudite letter. He has endeared himself to me on many grounds, especially for having been the intermediary who brought us together. Your later communication arrived this very night, and I received it with a joyful heart. Both were followed by your long-looked-for Explanation of Celtic proverbs. I wish it were possible to dig up some records of earlier ages, dealing with the religion and faith of the Britons. I have already come across homilies and other documents of the sort, which bear evidence of the theology of the ancient Anglo-Saxons, as well as some which are drawn from Gildas Albanus, Gildas Badonicus,² and an old Saxon prior to Bede, as he wrote in the time of Penda King of the Mercians; and a few facts are drawn from Nennius on the tenets of the Christian religion among the Britons. Unless I am mistaken, you will be able to gather a great many theological maxims from the poems

¹ Eques auratus—"Knight of the gilt spur".

² *I.e.*, born in the year of the Battle of Mount Badon.

of Taliesin. In return for your rich harvest I am sending you a single Anglo-Saxon adage which ought to be inscribed on the walls of every school, but, *with God's help*, I hope to collect more:—*Would that I had read in my youth, then I should now have learnt some good.*

Our common friend Pugh will tell you about our proposals for editing, with a Latin and English translation, the very oldest chronicles written in the British dialect, which are found in the Cottonian collection.

Adieu, learned Sir, and ever make use of me. London, March 12th, MDCXL.

Draft letter from SIR SIMONDS D'EWES to Dr. JOHN DAVIES, Mallwyd.

Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, D.D., to the venerable scholar John Davies, Doctor of Divinity. Grave and Reverend Sir, On the 29th of September just past, I had the good fortune to speak to David Llwyd, student of Gray's Inn, though a stranger to me, in a bookseller's shop. There was no need of an intermediary to introduce us. In the course of a casual conversation I explained to him the origin of the British and the deeds of the British. I have laboured for eighteen years now in that department and in expounding the true history of the Anglo-Saxons and Norman-English, and vindicating it largely from the actual archives; but we shall show you by relics of the ancient Cimbri Bruto, son of Hesicio, of the race of Gomer, not that shadowy personage Brutus, from Phrygia, out of the commentaries of the Prydhuides,¹ whence they would argue for the superiority of themselves and their race over their Roman lords. I shall prove this, not out of my own head (be it far from me), but from the most ancient records, in order to explode William Camden's fanciful and concocted origin of the British name. While returning with zest and appetite to these subjects and others of the same kind, I make repeated enquiries as to how you are, where you are,

¹ Cf. Prise, *Hist. Brit. Defensio*, p. 11. "Et huiusmodi Poëtas sive Bardos (quos & alio nomine Pryduides appellant, atque eosdem esse conijeio [*sic*] qui à veteribus Drydes dicebantur) inter se ea maxime de causa alunt & venerantur."

and who will carry letters, consequent upon our interest in those pursuits. Llwyd courteously took upon himself this office, and at present I am writing to give him letters to be forwarded to you. May I beg of you to send him a copy of the version of *British Proverbs*, which I will have copied on leaves,¹ for binding with your learned lexicon at the proper places. I myself am almost completely absorbed in giving the finishing touch to the Anglo-Saxon-Latin lexicon, with a view to publication. There are many things which must be inserted or amplified in my introduction by the aid of your preface. I don't know whether you have happened to have a talk with an intelligent merchant named Williams. He told Robert Cotton and myself that British agrees with the Tartar language in almost every word. He undertook to show easily, from the very place-names which were brought on the journey here, what countries they traversed. I hope that at the end of the vacation I may resume my liberty and privileges, and we may at last meet in London and discuss together more fully these and other points relating to the history of Britain. Meanwhile, adieu, Reverend Sir, and always make use of me.

Yours devotedly,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

London, August 31st, MDCXL.

To his estimable friend, the venerable Divine, JOHN DAVIES, D.D., of Mallwyd, on the borders of Montgomery.

REVEREND SIR,—I recently received your letter, written in English at Mallwyd on the borders of Montgomery on the 20th of January, 1641. They would really have been more acceptable had they been written in Latin, in order that your learning might have shown to greater advantage. With regard to your hint about a plain rendering of Celtic proverbs in a Latin dress, you will have done work which the public as well as myself will highly appreciate. When I receive the new ones, I shall send you those that you sent me before, and, to avoid appearing utterly ungrateful, I beg to enclose a print of the Chronicles of your ancient

¹ Meaning, probably, "loose sheets."

historian Gildas Albanus, who departed from the land of the living about dxx. It is copied, I think, from a very ancient manuscript in the library at the University of Cambridge. It is true that some copyist has attached patches of his own, mostly extracted from Henry of Huntingdon,—a fact which I first noted in the commentary on that old volume, at the beginning. This very ancient author has also been copied almost entirely by a certain anonymous Anglo-Saxon, who has added some genealogies of his own race at the end of the Chronicles. The author in question lived about the year of our Lord dcxx, and seems to have composed it about the tenth year of Penda King of the Mercians. A very old manuscript copy of this history is preserved in the Cotton Library. Its title is very faulty, and was prefixed (if I am not mistaken) by the direction of Robert Cotton himself during his lifetime, as if it were a history by Nennius, whereas Nennius himself copied his history from this very anonymous Anglo-Saxon writer two hundred and sixty years after, and frankly acknowledged that he left out those Anglo-Saxon genealogies as less necessary to his master Beulanus. This is the origin of the mistake which is made even by the learned James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and others, who by an anachronism ascribe those three chronicles, relating to the ancient Britons, in the main to Nennius alone, in the teeth of all historic truth. I shall soon, *with God's help*, be seeing through the press my Teuto-Latin-English Lexicon with prefatory remarks. And since the opinion has gained ground with us that the Teutonic race itself formerly sprang from the Sacae, a Persian tribe, I have secured several manuscripts which are very rare and very elegantly written in the Persian tongue and characters, and with the assistance of a learned German youth, named Raniĵ,¹ I learnt that they were remarkably rare. Among others one book is extant which is called (in Arabic) *Lughat Shamil*, namely a Shamil lexicon, in which not only Persian words are explained in the same language but also for almost every expression authorities are quoted from Mahommedan historians and poets. Many things are met with there which are written in precisely the same way and bear precisely the same meaning as in Old English. I have decided that

¹ The name has been altered and is not quite clear.

some of them must be published as specimens in the Introduction. I should be greatly grieved to hear of your income being curtailed, you who are actively engaged in literary or charitable works, did I not know that you would not consider in the least your private interest, provided the increase of God's glory and praise be studied. For although you perhaps, as the pastor in charge of a couple of churches, have your hands as full as they can be, yet, alas! how many idle, unprincipled bipeds there are who pay more heed to collecting tithes than to feeding souls! I have written this hurriedly amid much business and a whirl of anxieties. Adieu, learned sir, and continue to honour me with your esteem.

Yours most devotedly,
SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westminster, February 16th (according
to the Julian Calendar), 1641.

[Harl., 376, f. 50.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES of *Mallwyd in the county of Merioneth*,
to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the illustrious and renowned scholar Dr. Simonds D'Ewes, knight, all happiness. To what do I, an old man of seventy-three, living so far off as these Getic¹ cliffs, owe the compliment of being greeted, unworthy as I am, and being asked my opinion about the Muses by a gentleman occupying so important a position and engaged in so important a task, from so distant a region? But I cease to wonder, and I attribute this fact, renowned knight, to no fortune nor merit of my own, but to your kindly nature and consummate courtesy. Our noble Briton, Master Da. Lloyd, of Gray's Inn, who faithfully transmitted to me your honey-laden letter, and whom you did the honour of addressing at the bookseller's, is not known to me by sight nor by name. But I am anxious to make his acquaintance, particularly as you suggest it. I acknowledge that I owe very many thanks to you, illustrious knight, and as much as I can I return them—both in my own name and that of my fellow countrymen. I thank

¹ Outlandish. The Getae were a wild tribe on the Danube. The writer may have been thinking of the poet Ovid's banishment there.

you in their name for having bestowed so much study and trouble on maintaining the true origin of our race; in my own name for your concern about my health, though, as far as I know, you have never seen me, for your gracious enquiries as to what part of the world I live in and spend my time, and especially for paying my rough preface such a high compliment. For myself, with my usual ignorance in historical matters, I frankly confess I do not know who is the Brutus, a descendant of Gomer, to whom you refer, nor his father Hesicio, except that I have read of them in the well-known old MS., which is generally supposed to be a compendium of Gildas, which Sir John Prise, in the *Defence of the History of Britain*, page 63, says he himself discovered sometime since in Wales, and which, he says, Leyland thought to be Nennius, p. 25. However, the MS. calls Hesicio Hesichius and Hesichios, and his son not Brutus (as does John Prise) or Bruto, but Bruto and Britto—if the difference of names may appear to be of any moment; and it traces them, not to Gomer, the son of Japhet, but to Javan. But please understand that I am little versed in historical studies, and utterly unworthy to be asked my opinion in these pursuits of yours. As to what is said in the preface to the Dictionary, at the time I wrote it an opportunity offered itself which led me to read some books on history and hunt up the facts. I had no translation of British proverbs in my possession when I received your letter. On receipt of it I addressed myself to the task of interpreting them, and am sending you some leaves herewith, and by God's help shall shortly send more. Your face, my distinguished knight, will, I know, beam with satisfaction, when you get them. If some of our native proverbs seem somewhat dull, uninteresting, pointless, and unpolished, you are fully aware that this is due to the circumstance that in no language are writings, particularly proverbs,—and above all when translated word for word, as is the case here—capable of being re-cast in another language without losing much of the charm and beauty of the original. And in all languages there are many expressions with a double meaning which cannot always be rendered in another language. And several adages take their origin from the double meaning of expressions. Moreover, says Erasmus, most proverbs have this peculiarity, that they must be pronounced in the native

language, just as there are some wines which will not be exported and do not retain their proper flavour except in the countries where they are grown. And Scaliger, in his *De Subtilitate ad Cardanum*,¹ says that there are preserved in every language certain favourite proverbs which depend upon definite structures peculiar to their own tongue, and if you transplant them to another colony, so to speak, they will not retain the charm to which they owed their former fascination. When one transfers them, it is like putting a bridle on an ox. You will also pardon me, renowned knight, if I fail to explain, as should be done in proverbs, the several applications of each proverb, the acceptations that they bear among us, the uses to which they are put, and the principle that governs the employment of them. You will not suppose that all are proverbs which come under this term, any more than is the case with the proverbs of other races. For among them also there are many *maxims*, texts, fables, similes and apophthegms, many sayings, pious, shrewd, pithy, and smart, many precepts, admonitions, and counsels. All of these come under the Hebrew expression *maskal*; whence Solomon's proverbs are called *mishlé*, and the Arabian expression, *mathsala*; whence they call their adages *amthsalo*. This is taught pretty clearly by Solomon himself in the title of his Proverbs, chapter i, verse 1, where he says: "The Proverbs of Solomon: to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice and judgment, and equity." In fine, you will not charge our proverbs, or me, busied with them, with *nonsense*. You will see that the wish to oblige you will not be wanting on my part; whether I am likely to accomplish anything or not, you must judge. It will be your duty to add a black or white mark.² I shall see that you are not sorry for making the request, nor I for complying. You, renowned sir,

Have received a Sparta, it is for you to adorn it;
and please lick into shape the formless offspring to which I rashly gave birth in the Preface.³ Please bring to due

¹ *I.e.*, Girolamo Cardano.

² *Calculus*, lit. pebble. A white pebble signified assent or acquittal, a black one denial or condemnation.

³ The sentence in brackets reads: "There is another preface prefixed to the British Grammar published at the press of John Bill,

perfection with your skilled brush, the Venus which I, most inexperienced of artists, have begun—after a fashion. You pledged your word in your letter to me; redeem it. You will not doubt that God will favour and prosper your pious endeavours, and will one day reward your labours an hundred-fold. Meanwhile I pray God the Most Holy, Most Mighty, to extend the thread of your life for many a year to bless your studies daily more and more and [enable you to say]:—

*I grow in learning as I grow in years.*¹

Mallwyd in Merionethshire,
February 2d, 1640.

JO. DAVIES.

[*Postscript.*]—I have not made the acquaintance of Master Williams, a London merchant. I knew a goldsmith of that name, lately called Captaine Williams, who lives in Chepeside, ever since he was a young man, and perhaps this is he whom you designate a merchant. He has often given me an account of our language and race, almost similar to what you say in your letter, and he promised to show and lend me books which would prove his statements more clearly than the rays of the sun. But though I have been longing to see them, believing that they would be much to my purpose, he has not consented to show them me, much less lend them, and that in spite of my repeated requests made during my stay in London for a whole year, more or less, when about to publish my *British Dictionary*—such as it was. He gave me words, plenty of them, and that from day to day, but that was all; I have not set eyes on one of the books.

DR. JOHN DAVIES to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the honoured and eminent scholar Doctor Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, all happiness. I have been poring with eager enthusiasm over your letter, which was written

1621." The reference is to John Bill, Stationer and Citizen, of London. John Bill and Bonham Norton continued the business of Christopher and Robert Barker, who were printers of the first rank, between 1556-1620.

¹ A line of Solon's.

amid the tide and surge of public business. It affords a *lively proof and token* of your regard for me, and shows that you are capable of doing more by way of recreation in the midst of your anxieties than others with much labour and with complete leisure. In your former letter, and the one that followed to my noble friend and neighbour R. P.,¹ you administer me a serious but friendly rebuke for sending you a letter in English, which, you say, affords less evidence of my erudition. But I acquit myself. If anyone thinks I contain any hoards of learning or any stores of literary lore, he is wide of the mark—as wide as sky, earth and sea. And if there were any, knowing, as I do, how meagre it is, no language could conceal it. And in letters of this kind I think it more appropriate to express one's feelings frankly and openly, than to make a display of learning. And living, as I do, in this veritable Scythia, far removed at once from books and literature, I have always been in the habit of writing in English or British, hardly ever in Latin. For this Roman spirit in me has all wasted away and become nerveless, together with this poor earthen vessel [of a body]. And then, too, as I write, by some secret intuition, perchance at the suggestion of an English woman, my mind divines that there will be hereafter many Anglican doctors, as they call them, if it be God's will that more learned men than they be despoiled of their benefices. I believe that what you say is quite true, and welcome with deep gratitude your hint that you would resent any diminution of my means of livelihood, did you not know that I would set the general good of the Church before my private profit. But, my illustrious knight, do you think that all are likeminded? I am afraid that many, alas! are waiting open-mouthed for our tithes, and are so far from giving those that teach a share of all good things,² or from plucking out their eyes and giving them,³ as to prefer hearing the Holy Gospel preached to them for nothing. But if it shall appear expedient to endow each ecclesiastic with the charge of one benefice only, no account being taken of his degrees or deserts, I would it might be allowable to petition that to each several benefice its tithes might be wholly restored, which are being withheld by so many "customs", "prescriptions", "com-

¹ Sir Richard Price.² 1 Corinthians, ix.³ Galatians, iv, 15.

positions", and "exemptions"—to say nothing of the impropriated tithes, which some maintain to have passed into the lay fee,¹ and the restoration of these is almost beyond hope! That would, indeed, be a measure worthy of such an honourable assembly. Truly it is a monstrous thing that beneficed livings should be piled together indiscriminately—no less of a monstrosity than Briareus and Geryon in the fables. However, it would be no less unbecoming to put David's armour on Saul than Saul's on David. But I furl my sails, lest I may seem to put my sickle into another man's harvest, or, while endeavouring to commend myself to you by writing, may, by poverty of diction or baldness of style, only succeed in betraying my childishness. My writings contain no marrow by way of a treat for you. Excuse my shortcomings, distinguished knight. Excuse me, if, in answering your letter, *I put the cart before the horse*. Excuse my delay in sending my *second thoughts*, which, as I know, you have been anxious to see. Doubt not but that you will receive a far more correct copy than the former one, which I wish you to regard as not merely promised by letter, but pledged by contract. Wait until I transcribe it. I prefer doing it myself to leaving it to anyone else, in order that I may pay more attention to the original and the copy, and more easily clear up the obscurities, correct the faults of the former copy and, in fine, make up for the delay by my diligence. If they are likely to afford you pleasure, I shall be delighted; that is my aim. It was a great joy to me to clasp your Gildas Albanus, which a neighbour, a friend of mine, who is very well versed in historical matters, has now, to compare with his own copy. I do not restore it now, in order that, if you think proper, my friend may mark the discrepancies on the margin of your MS., but I do not wish to do it without consulting you. Good luck to the publication of your Lexicon! England is to be congratulated on this light, which will send forth its rays even to her posterity. I am afraid of intruding on your occupations too far. May God direct all your consultations to His own glory, the good of the Church, and the welfare of His people. He brings everything, even beyond the thoughts or wishes of men, to good effect. Adieu, most

¹ *Feodum* (Mid. Lat.): originally the property in land distributed by the Conqueror to his companions in arms.

noble knight. May you prosper and long continue to prosper—prosper for the sake of God, your Church and State, and the admirers of your merits, learning and name. Count me as very much at your service. JO. DAVIES, of Mallwyd, in the County of Merioneth, April 30th, 1642.

You write that you have been long expecting to hear from me whether I have noticed in the old British writings of Taliesin and others, anything relating to the liturgy and theology. Very little, and this I copied out some years ago, at the request of the Reverend Jo. Barkham, D.D., and saw that he got a copy. He will, I believe, be glad to let you see it. I kept a copy by me, but, though I have hunted for it several days, I have not succeeded in laying my hand on it. If the missing document comes to light at any time, I will not omit to send it.

Will you, most accomplished knight, favour me with an answer to one small point? Since the power of the Ecclesiastical Court, as is generally believed, is now worn out, and has been robbed of its sting, before what judges can we sue those who refuse to pay tithes? Is the most honourable Assembly providing, or likely to provide, any timely remedy in the matter? If it be my fate to be stripped of one benefice while the tithes of the other are uncertain, I am of all men most miserable.

[*Enclosure.*]—That you may not think I have forgotten you, distinguished knight, here you have a dissertation, done into Latin, on the athletic sports and contests of the Britons, which is generally appended to British Proverbs. It is preceded by an introduction on the games and contests of the Greeks and other races.

The Twenty-four Contests.

[*Enclosure.*]—Just as I was on the point of sealing this letter there suddenly flashed across my mind a passage in a poet which I had before noted down at the request of the Reverend D. Barkham. It refers to two abodes of the dead. The writer sang (about the year 1243 A.D.) as follows¹ :—

¹ Latine ad verbum sic : “in Latin it runs thus word for word”.

Two returns there are, as it is thought or supposed (viz., according to
the opinion of the learned) ;
Two by (the hour of) death, quite unlike each other ;
A region of wisdom, of heaven, Adam's abode of fair foundation,
Hell is the second, of the force of iron.

The poet is Llywarch Brydydd y Môch, Llywarch the swine's bard, or rather, the swift, ready bard. Although he is a comparatively late writer, it is possible to see here, that even at that time remains of the ancient theology of the Britons survived, and in the midst of the darkness of ignorance there were not wanting among us vindicators of the truth, of whom this poet was one.

Reviews.

SHORT NOTICES.

Notes on a book under this heading do not preclude a subsequent review.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF BISHOP DAVIES AND WILLIAM SALESBURY, with an Account of some Early Translations into Welsh of the Holy Scriptures and the Prayer Book, together with a Transcript of the Bishop's Version of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul from the Autograph MS. at Gwysaney, now first published. With Illustrations and Facsimiles. By the Ven. D. R. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Montgomery, etc. Oswestry: The Caxton Press, 1902.

At an Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art held in connection with the Church Congress which met at Rhyl in October 1891, there appeared a manuscript lent by Mr. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney, which, upon investigation, Archdeacon Thomas found to be an autograph translation by Bishop Davies of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, a translation not identical with the portion assigned to him in the New Testament, but most probably a revision with a view to a new edition. With the MS. are bound a Draft Petition, which "we shall not be far wrong in assigning to William Salesbury", and a Bond, providing part of the necessary funds for carrying out the object of the Petition, of which the translation in question appears to form a partial fulfilment. It was, at one time, proposed to publish a collotype facsimile of the original MS., and it is to

be regretted that the inadequacy of the response prevented Archdeacon Thomas from carrying out so desirable a project. The volume before us, however, gives the MS. for the first time in printed form, and by means of process illustrations some of its most interesting features are reproduced. Two chapters of the work are devoted to a sketch of the life and work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury, whilst a third chapter deals with the story of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Welsh. Copies of the title pages of some of the earliest printed Welsh books are reproduced from the *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* (Session 1897-98). Amongst the Appendices appear the Bishop of S. David's certificate of the State of his Diocese, Jan. 1569, published for the first time, *Owll Foliant Syr Robt. Myddlton i Rich. Davies, Escop Menew*, and a copy of the Will of Bishop Richard Davies.

**HISTORY OF THE THIRTEEN COUNTY TOWNSHIPS
OF THE OLD PARISH OF WREXHAM, AND OF
THE TOWNSHIPS OF BURRAS RIFFRI, ERLAS
AND ERDDIG.** By Alfred Neobard Palmer. Wrexham:
(Printed for the Author by Hughes and Son), 1903.

THIS volume is the fifth, and, as we are informed, the last of the series of books which Mr. Alfred N. Palmer has written and published relating to the "History of the Old Parish of Wrexham". Mr. Palmer's investigations in this, as in his previous writings, have been for the most part made at first hand, and from original sources. The results of his investigations are set forth with characteristic accuracy and minuteness of detail, and at all times

with the unassuming modesty of a thoroughly conscientious worker. The thirteen chapters of the volume before us deal with the story of the sixteen townships of Esclusham Below, and Esclusham Above Dyke, Minera, Bersham, Broughton, Brymbo, Abenbury Fawr and Abenbury Fechan, Bieston, Gourton, Burras Hovah and Burras Riffri, Acton, Stansty, Erlas and Erddig. Numerous pedigrees are inserted, including those of Myddelton of Plâs Cadwgan; Meredith of Pentrebychan; Trevor of Esclus; Power, Lloyd, and Fitzhugh of Plâs Power; Puleston of Upper Berse; Myddleton of Bodlith; Peter Ellice; Powell of Gyffynys (or Gyvynys); Jones, and Jones-Parry of Llwyn-on; Griffith of Cefn; Brereton of Burras; Jeffreys, and Cunliffe of Acton; Edwardses of Stansty; Davies of Erlas; Puleston of Llwyn y Cnottie; Erthig; Edisbury, and Yorke of Erddig, and the Yales of Plâs Grono. The illustrations, mostly from photographs, include two views of the tomb of Elihu Yale, Ex-Governor of Madras, and founder of Yale College (now Yale University), who was buried in the churchyard at Wrexham, on the 21st July 1721, and a facsimile of Elihu Yale's signature.

KELTIC RESEARCHES: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples. By Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian in the University of Oxford, etc. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1904.

THE main historical result of this book, as stated by the Author in his preface, is the settlement of "The Pictish Question", or rather of the two Pictish questions. The first of these is, "What kind of language did the Picts speak?" The second is, "Were the Picts conquered by

the Scots?" "The first", he observes, "has been settled by linguistic and palæographical methods only: it has been shown that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish, differing from that far less than the dialects of some English counties differ from each other. The second has been settled, with very little help from language, by historical and textual methods." In the Author's opinion it has been made abundantly clear to any person of impartial and critical mind that the supposed conquest of the Picts by the Scots is an absurd myth.

Other important results of the Studies "are the demonstration of the great prominence of the Belgic element in the population of the British Isles, and the evidence that so many of the tribes known to us as inhabiting England and Wales in Roman times spoke not Old Welsh, as has hitherto been supposed, but Old Irish". Particularly notable for wide dispersion and maritime venture are the Menapians, to whom the author believes that he has traced "the origin of the Manx nation and language". As regards Continental history, Mr. Nicholson claims that "the great Goidelic element is now shown to have extended with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine".

"The chief linguistic result of the Studies (apart from the determination of the nature of Pictish, and of the parentage of Highland Gaelic)," is stated to be "the fact that the loss of original *p*, a loss supposed to be the distinguishing feature of the Keltic family of language, is of comparatively late date in the Goidelic branch—that, in fact, *p* was normally kept for centuries after the Christian Era, at Bordeaux, till the fifth century, in Pictish probably later still." *Keltic Researches* is published by Mr. Henry

Frowde, of the Oxford University Press, and is dedicated "to the memory of Henry Bradshaw, late Librarian to the University of Cambridge, whose discovery of the Book of Deer, and whose palæographical and critical genius have permanently enriched Keltic studies".

DWYFOL GÂN DANTE: Annwn, Purdan, Paradwys.
Cyfieithiad gan Daniel Rees. Caerarfon: 1903.

WE have pleasure in calling attention to a translation into Welsh of *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*. The translator, Mr. Daniel Rees, of Carnarvon, is already known by his effective rendering into Welsh of the *Alcestitis*. His remarkable reproduction of the *Divine Comedy* in his mother tongue, has greatly advanced his reputation as a scholar and linguist. The volume, which contains an introduction on Dante, by Mr. T. Gwynn Jones, the chaired Bard of the National Eisteddfod of 1902 (Bangor), is illustrated, with some characteristic sketches, by Mr. J. Kelt Edwards, a young Welsh artist of great promise. Initial letters of considerable merit are reproduced from designs by Miss Louise Rolfe and Miss Phoebe Rees.

GERALD THE WELSHMAN. By Henry Owen, D.C.L.
(Oxon), F.S.A., Editor of "Owen's Pembrokeshire", etc.
New and Enlarged Edition. London: David Nutt, 1904.

THIS volume is a "New and Enlarged Edition" of Dr. Henry Owen's interesting story of the life and works of Giraldus Cambrensis, originally read by him before the

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on St. David's Eve, 1889, and subsequently (in an extended form) published by the author in a limited *Edition de luxe*. That edition became exhausted long ago. In its present form the book appeals to a wider circle of readers. The author has furnished it with numerous explanatory notes for the use of students, and has added a new Map of Wales, a Pedigree shewing Gerald's connection with the Royal House of Wales, and a List of the Place-names mentioned in Gerald's *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, with their modern equivalents. At a price which brings it within everyone's reach, the Story of *Gerald the Welshman* should be studied in every school in Wales.

VOL. XVIII.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

THE

**ORIGIN OF THE WELSH ENGLYN
AND KINDRED METRES.**

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN RHÛS.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1905.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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- The History of the Cymmrodorion.** Out of print.
- A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe**, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2s. 6d. each.
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y Cymmrodor.

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OF THE HONOURABLE

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NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1905.

The Englyn.

THE ORIGIN
OF
THE WELSH ENGLYN
AND
KINDRED METRES.

BY
JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.LITT.,
*Professor of Celtic and Principal of Jesus
College, Oxford.*

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY THE HON. SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION,
64, CHANCERY LANE.

1905.

Ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.

TACITUS, AGRICOLA, 21.

Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos.

ANTH. LAT., 424, 3 R.

P R E F A C E .

PORTIONS of this paper were read before the members of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the 17th day of February, 1904. But in the course of passing it through the press a good many minor points presented themselves in a way that I had not foreseen. They were mostly of a nature to strengthen the argument; but, as it was, they could only be, so to speak, brought in by the tail, and more or less in defiance of the attempt to be methodical in the presentation of the evidence. One result is that I should like to begin again from the beginning; but even then the event would be relatively the same. For the craving for finality, though an invaluable stimulus to thought, is ever destined to fall short of full fruition. There remains, however, the cheering reflection that the imperfect performance of one student may lead another to do better.

Most of the kind friends who have helped me are acknowledged in the body of the paper, as occasion arises; but I must mention here my indebtedness to my friend Professor Morfill for having read the proof sheets, and assisted me in many other ways. Also to the Regius Professor of Latin, and to Mr. Genner, Assistant Tutor of Jesus College, for a variety of valuable hints given me by them with the most friendly readiness. Above all I wish to record my gratitude to the Cymmrodorion Society for their liberality and their readiness to undertake the publication of this troublesome piece of work.

Lastly, a word to the reader: it is sometimes noticed that the reviewer studies nothing but the preface, and that the reader notices only what follows the preface; nevertheless, on the bare chance of these lines catching the latter's eye, I venture to ask him to turn first to the Additions and Corrections at the end of the volume, and enter in his copy the cross references which they suggest. This would, I believe, facilitate his reading of the whole, and reduce the number of occasions when he might feel tempted to curse the writer for his stupidity.

JOHN RHÛS.

Jesus College, Oxford,

St. David's Day, 1905.

CONTENTS.

PART I:—INSCRIPTIONAL DATA.

	PAGE
i. HEXAMETERS	2
ii. ELEGIACS	35
iii. PENTAMETERS AND HALF PENTAMETERS	47
iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 1	57
" " GROUP 2	70
" " GROUP 3	74
" " GROUP 4	78
" " GROUP 5	89
v. HORATIAN METRES	89
vi. THE FRAMPTON MOSAICS	97
A PLACE INDEX TO THE INSCRIPTIONS	101

PART II:—CERTAIN WELSH METRES.

i. THE JUVENCUS ENGLYNS	103
ii. THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES CLASSIFIED	107
iii. BLEGYWRYD'S HEXAMETERS	115
PENTAMETER ENGLYNS AND OTHER VARIANTS	120
iv. CERTAIN CONTENTS OF THE "BLACK BOOK"	125
v. NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES	127
vi. THE LATER ENGLYN	135
vii. THE ACCENTUAL HEXAMETER IN WELSH	146
viii. THE PENTAMETER THE CYWYDD	149
ix. THE HEXAMETER TRUNCATED	155
x. THE LUXEMBOURG FOLIO	159
xi. IRISH RHETORICS	161
xii. ELEGIAC FEATURES TRANSMITTED	174
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS	178
INDEX TO PROPER NAMES IN THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES	183

However uncertain the origin of quantitative Greek verse, we can be sure that it had its justification in the nature of the spoken language. The Greeks wrote in quantity because they spoke in quantity, just as the modern English poet writes what we call accentual verse because his language is in the main an accentual language. On the other hand it is clear that the quantitative system of Greek poetry was in part artificial. It seems impossible that every long syllable should require in ordinary speech just twice the time of any short syllable; and some of the phenomena of logacædic measures are obviously due to arbitrary conventions. In post-classical times, the relations between quantity in speech and quantity in verse seem gradually to have become still more strained. . . . Quantitative verse had been made easy by the quantitative character of the language and by an almost entire absence of accentual stress; but as the former decayed and the latter came in, quantitative writing became more and more an act of somewhat pedantic affectation; and the poets had to meet the new conditions of the language by writing a new kind of verse.

CHARLTON M. LEWIS.

I Cymmrodor.

Vol. XVIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

1905.

The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres.

BY JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.LITT.

PART I.

INSCRIPTIONAL DATA.

SOME twelve or thirteen years ago I called attention to the similarity of form between the characteristic portion of the Welsh metre known as the englyn and the Porius inscription at Llech Idris, near Trawsfynydd, in Merionethshire. I hardly knew then what to make of that similarity, but I have lately succeeded beyond my expectation in clearing the matter up. In collecting, with a view to publication, our old post-Roman inscriptions found in Wales and other portions of the British Isles, it has been repeatedly forced on my attention that not a few of those of the southern half of Britain are in verse. In one case, that of the Paulinus stone, preserved at Dolau Cothi, the metrical nature of the inscription has been known for more, at any rate, than half a century; for it was discussed by the Rev. Rice Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, published in the year 1836. So that monument may

appropriately stand at the head of the list which is to follow.

It may be premised that the order intended to be followed in the first part of this paper will be that which is suggested by the precedence claimed by the more common Latin metres in point, namely, the hexameter and the elegiac couplet. Then will follow separate pentameters and shortened hexameters, and such Horatian metres as I have succeeded in identifying as the models of any of our inscriptions. In applying these terms to the inscriptions at all, it must be understood that they mean not quantitative metres but accentual, a most important difference, to be explained best in connection with the individual instances. So I shall, for example, have to use the term "accentual hexameter" at the risk of the metre being forthwith identified with that of Longfellow's *Evangeline*: I cannot help it, as I have not been able to discover a better name for the kind of hexameter I have in view.

i. HEXAMETERS.

1. MAES LLANWRTHWL, near *Dolau Cothi*, *Carmarthenshire*: see *Hübner's "Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae"*, No. 82: *Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ"*, p. 79.

A stone from the precincts of the extinct chapel of Llanwrthwl is preserved at Dolau Cothi: it is in several pieces, and one at least of those pieces is missing, but there is excellent authority for giving the reading as follows, with the ligatures resolved:—

SERVATVR FIDÆI	His faith he kept,
PATRIE ^{Que} SEMPER	He loved his country well—
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN	Here, mindful of the right,
VF IACIT CVLTOR PIENTH	Does Paulinus dwell.
FIMVS ÆQVI	

Putting it into the normal spelling of literary Latin, Professor Rice Rees wrote it out as the following pair of hexameters, *loc. cit.*, p. 188:—

Servator fidei, patriæque semper amator,
Hic Paulinus jacet, cultor pientissimus æqui.

Then he proceeded to write as follows on this text:—
“The last syllable of *patriæque* is an error in prosody, unless the author intended the *u* for a vowel, and so formed the end of the word into a dactyl. In the second line he appears to have had for his model the poets before the Augustan age, who frequently omitted the final *s*, and allowed the vowel preceding to assume its natural quantity; the last *u* in Paulinus is therefore short. The *n* in *pientissimus* must have been quiescent, in which case the vowel before it would be short, as in ‘pietas’ from whence the word is derived.” But the study of the treatment of the hexameter in our epigraphy convinces me that these suggestions on the part of Professor Rees are altogether beside the mark, and, that, had he had to deal with the other metrical epitaphs, he would have found all ingenuity of the kind which he suggested to have been inadequate to help him out.

This raises the question, what characteristics of Latin hexameter verse are likely to have been retained by the Celts of this country, if and when they tried to imitate it. Let me first mention that there were certain things which were not likely to remain, and foremost among them may be instanced the measuring of the lines by the quantity of the syllables. Even in Latin itself this was hardly native so much as due to Greek influence, and it could not be expected to be understood by men in whose own languages the accent was predominantly one of stress, such as appears to have been the case with the Celts as far back as we

have any means of studying it. So in their verses, whether written in Latin or in their own idioms, one would expect to find the rhythm dependent on the stress accent, no cognizance, or next to none, being taken of quantity except in so far as it conditioned the stress accent. We have accordingly a fixed point in the fact, that the hexameter ended in a spondee or a trochee preceded by a dactyl, that is, the two last feet were in Latin - ˘ ˘, - ˘, which, in the majority of cases meant ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘, or with the quantity notation dropped, ˘ - - | ˘ -, as in the ending of the first line of the *Æneid*, *prímus ab | óris*. The dactylic movement at the end of the line is therefore one of the things to be looked for first in the imitation of Latin hexameters, and we have it right enough in both lines of this epitaph, | *sémper a|mátor*, and | *tíssimus | áequi*.

Another of the marks of the hexameter has given rise to its name: it consisted of six feet. This, reduced to syllables, meant that the verses might range in length from 13 syllables to 17, for the shortest, with only a single dactyl, that is in the fifth place, would consist of 5 spondees and 1 dactyl, $5 \times 2 + 3 = 13$, while the longest might possibly have 5 dactyls and only 1 spondee, $5 \times 3 + 2 = 17$. What has already been said as to the epitaph is based on the fact of its consisting of lines of six feet each; as it happens, the six feet make 14 syllables in both instances, and the rhythm may be represented as follows:—

Servátor | fidei | patri|áequē | sémper a|mátor
 Híc Pau|línus | iácit | cúltor p̃ien|tíssimus | áequi.

In this kind of verse the chief requisite seems to have been that the dactylic movement at the end of the line should be all right: as to the four feet preceding the dactyl, I must confess that I have not succeeded in dis-

covering any definite rule with regard to the rhythm. Here let me remark as to the letter *i*, that when unaccented between a single consonant and a vowel it seldom forms a syllable in pronunciation, so I have treated it as asyllabic in *pientissimus*, which is indicated by writing it *ï* according to recent philological usage, which is convenient also in the case of *u*.

Hübner places this epitaph among those of his earliest period, which he defines, p. xxi, as beginning from “saeculo fere quinto medio sextove ineunte”. The name Paulinus occurs three or four times in our inscriptions, but this Paulinus has been supposed to be the teacher who taught St. David, and lived into the early part of the sixth century. There seems to be no difficulty in the way of this identification.

2. WARRIOR'S REST, near Farrow, in Selkirkshire: see Hübner, 209.

Three visits have been made by me to the stone, and during the last of them I examined it repeatedly, with the assistance of the minister, the Rev. R. Borland, and with the aid of a good photograph taken at the time by Dr. Stuart, of Leith, who happened to be staying in the neighbourhood. Altogether I feel considerable confidence in the accuracy of the following reading:—

HIC MEMORIAE ET

[BE]LLO INFIQNIƆIMI PRINCI Here Nudos' princely offspring rest,
PES.NVDI. Dear to fame, in battle brave,

dVMNOQENI. HIC IACENT Two sons of a Bounteous sire,
IN TYMVLO · dVO FILII Dumnonians, in their grave.

LIBERALIΓ

The first part of the word *bello* is gone, with a piece, which I have never seen, of the stone; the *s* is mostly of the tall form, like a Greek Γ ; the *d* is minuscule; and the

g is of the ordinary Hiberno-Saxon kind. The short line ending with *Nudi* shows where the first hexameter was considered to end.

Now, to get the whole into metrical form, it has to be borne in mind that *liberalis* was most likely pronounced *librális*: witness, for example, the French *livrer* from Latin *liberare*. Notice, also, that the *o* and the *i* in the second line combine to form one syllable *oi*; and that *h* did not count in such Latin as we have to do with here. So the whole may be scanned as follows, according to the incidence of the stress:—

Híc me|mórie et | bello insig|nísimi | príncipes | Núdi,
Dumnógen|i 'ie íácent | in túmu|lo dúo | filij Lib|'rális.

An important point to be considered here is the accentuation of *Dumnógeni* with the stress falling on the thematic vowel of the first element in the compound. This is commonly supposed to have been pronounced without any stress or clear complexion of sound; but there are reasons for thinking such was not the rule, and that Brythonic resembled Old Gaulish in this matter. The scanty remains of the latter language have recently been examined from this point of view by Dr. Meyer-Lübke¹ in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna, and the writer has succeeded in shewing that in Gaulish the stress frequently fell on the thematic vowel: take for instance such words as *Durócasses*, now *Dreux*; *Cambóritum*, now *Chambort*; and *Rotómagus*, now *Rouen*. Among other instances he mentions the southern *Nemausus* making *Nîmes*, and pointing to *Némausus* as its origin, while a more northern *Nemáusus*

¹ See the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (Phil.-Hist. Classe)*, vol. cxliij. — My references are to the paper entitled "Die Betonung im Gallischen", and sold separately by Carl Gerold's Sohn (Vienna, 1901), pp. 23, 40, 44, 47-49.

is postulated by *Nemours*, which suggests to me the possibility that we have here to do with traces of two Celtic languages, one accenting its nouns on the first syllable, as Irish does, and the other tending to keep the accent nearer the end. Welsh has carried the latter tendency into effect by restricting the stress more and more to the penult, but Welsh literature has preserved a number of personal names postulating the same accentuation as *Durócasses*. Thus the Nennian Genealogies shew such forms as *Dinacat*, which is now superseded by *Dingad*, pronounced *Díng-gad*. The Latin genitive of this name occurs as *Dunocati* on a stone at Glanusk Park, near Crickhowel, Brecknock, and in the *Book of Aneurin* it is *Dinogat*¹ with the *o* retained, though the tendency has been to modify the *o* into *a*, as in the *Dinacat* already mentioned: that is a change which awaits explanation. Other instances from the Nennian Genealogies may be mentioned, such as *Tutagual* (more usually *Tudwal*) postulating an early *Tutóvalos*, and *Dumnagual* or *Durnagual* (commonly *Dyfnwal*) for an early *Dubnóvalos* or *Dumnóvalos*, with the same element *dumno* as in the *Dumno-geni* of the epitaph.² **BRIGOMACLOS** is a name on an early inscribed stone now in the Clayton Museum near Chesters on the Roman Wall: later it must have been reduced to *Brigómail* and *Briómail*, but we have it in a later inscrip-

¹ See Thomas Stephens's *Gododin*, p. 332; Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 90.

² The instances cited from the Nennian Pedigrees will be found in Phillimore's edition of the *Annales Cambriæ* in the *Cymmrodor*, ix, 141-183: see A.D. 760, and pedigrees iv, v, vi, vii, xvij. I might probably have mentioned with them *Cunedu*, or, as given by Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Cunedag*. I do not know how to explain the vowel *e*; but compare *Venedotis*, to be mentioned presently. The modern pronunciation is *Cunédla*; but the only instance in which it enters into a place-name as far as I know is *Allt Kynethu*.

tion near Brecon as *Briamail*, and the place-name *Kelli Uriavael*, 'Briavael's Holt', in the Englynion of the Graves (Evans's *Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 34a); compare also St. *Briavel's* church in Gloucestershire, where the pronunciation is *Brāvēls*, I am told. Another name partly identical occurs as *Briacat* in Nennius,¹ with a variant *Briecat*. Names beginning with the stem *rīgo*, 'king or kingly', were treated in the same way; so we have *Riacat*² in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 140, *Riatam*, *Riataf*, pp. 185, 186, a name borne by the king of the Brythonic troops in Berry, mentioned by the fifth century bishop Sidonius as *Riothamus*: see his *Epistula*, iii, 9, also Holder s.v. *Riotamus*. In the *Liber Landavensis*, also, a certain cleric is called apparently *Rioval*, *Riaual* and *Riual*, pp. 178, 207, 211, 212: in Breton cartularies this name is common as *Riaval*. In the *Black Book of Carmarthen* we have a *Riogan* (Evans's *Black Book*, p. 35a), and in the *Iolo MSS.* one meets with a *Rhioged*, p. 255. Possibly we have an appellative of this group in the word *rhiallu*, explained by Dr. Davies as 'decem myriades', as to which I suspect that it simply meant originally a king's army, or such a great host as a king might be imagined to have, the word being derived probably from *rīgó-slōgo-s*. Pughe, regarding it as made up of *rhi* and *gallu* 'power', naturally explained it more adequately than Davies, as meaning first the power of a sovereign or the army of a country; but he was wrong, I am inclined to think, in making the second element into *gallu* 'power' rather than *llu* 'a host'. In the same way are to be treated all names ending in *apui* or *abwy*, as

¹ See *Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii* in Mommsen's *Chronica Minora* (Berlin, 1894), iii, 193.

² In a litany in Latin, given by Stokes in his *Patrick*, a St. *Riacatus* is named, p. 502, who was presumably a Brython or a Gaul.

Guernábwy; in one instance the *Liber Landavensis* gives the two forms to be expected—a man called *Guorapui*, *Guorabui* and *Guorhaboe* is also called *Gurpoi*, p. 205. Lastly, I may mention the name *Vepógenos*: the genitive *Vepogeni* occurs in the votive tablet of the Pict Lossio Veda, and the shortened nominative *Vepógen* was presumably treated by the Picts as their usual genitive in *en*, from which they inferred a nominative *Vepog*, which appears in their lists of kings' names as *Vipoig*. All this is easiest to understand on the supposition that the Brythonic accentuation was *Vepógenos*; see the *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxij, pp. 327, 329, 393, and Skene's *Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, p. 6. Here should also be mentioned *Urbagen*, discussed by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson in Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 1901, pp. 104-11; the better known form of the name was *Urbgen*, while the later is *Urien*.

One is naturally led to ask how the duplication of these forms arose; for I do not see that *Dinógad*, for instance, could lead to *Díngad*. The latter is the later form, but what led to it? I can only suggest that at a certain stage in the language there was a weight of analogy against the antepenultimate accent, and that this caused *Dūnócātus* to have by its side a newer form *Dūñócātus*; or, perhaps, to be more accurate, it was *Dūñoca"tus*, with a secondary accent on the first syllable. Among other things one must not overlook the influence on Brythonic pronunciation of the masses of Goidels who adopted the language. In this case Goidelic accentuation, so far as we have any means of understanding what it was in early times, would be distinctly in favour of that of *Dū'noca"tus* as against *Dūnócātus*; for the Goidelic pronunciation would in this respect only differ in the relative stress of the primary and secondary accents. The Goidels would make the word into

Dŭ"nocátus instead of *Dŭ'noca"tus*, where the difference was much less than between *Dŭ'noca"tus* and *Dŭnócatuſ*; and so in other words originally of four syllables, to which these remarks must be understood to be confined. However the newer accentuation arose, it triumphed, for *Dingad* is naturally but the continuator of *Dŭ'noca"tus*, even without any help from a Goidelic *Dŭ"nocátus*; and altogether one can only regard forms like *Dinógad*, *Riával*, *Guorápuí* and the like, as interesting bits of an older stratum which has been mostly swept away in the course of a linguistic revolution whose history has been lost; but it must have taken place fairly early, as both Welsh and Breton have been affected by it.

Mention has already been made of the name **BRIÇO-MAÇLOS** which would make *Brigomagli* in the genitive: *vice versa* our *Nudi* would in the nominative be *Nudos*; but in this case I take *Nudos* to have stood for an earlier *Nudons* the proper genitive of which was *Nudontos*, in Latin *Nudontis* or *Nodentis*: the datives occur in inscriptions found at Lydney on the Severn, and refer to the god *Nodons*, whose temple in that locality was repaired sometime during the Roman occupation: see the *Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vij, Nos. 137-140. By the time, however, of the Yarrow inscription *Nudons* in its form *Nudos* had become a man's name, that of a king in the North, whose full designation appears to have been *Nudos Liberalis*; for it is the exigencies of the metre that forced the inscriber to separate the two words. That they belonged together is rendered probable by the fact that they have their exact equivalent in Welsh literature as *Nûd Hael*, that is to say, *Nudos* the Bounteous.¹ Other princes of the same family were called *Mordav Hael* or

¹ See Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 166-9.

Mordav the Bounteous, and *Rhyðerch Hael* or Rhyderch the Bounteous. Thus it would seem that *hael* or bountiful, the *Liberalis* of our epitaph, was not an unusual epithet in the family. Skene, on the strength of a Hengwrt MS. transcribed, he thought, about 1300, makes these three men great grandsons of a certain Dyfnwal Hên. All three are mentioned in the twelfth century MS. of the Venedotian version of the Laws of Wales as leaders in an attack made on Gwyned by the Men of the North. They were repelled by Rhûn, whose father Maelgwn's death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ* as taking place in the year 546: so Rhûn, when warring on the Men of the North, was probably king of Gwyned, and his expedition took place presumably not before his father's death. Further, Nennius mentions Rhyðerch as one of the kings who made war on the Anglian King Hussa, who is said to have reigned over Bernicia from 567 to 574, and Rhyðerch appears to have died not later than 614, probably earlier: he reigned at Alclyde or Dunbarton over the Brythons of the North.¹

The epitaph is remarkable for not giving the names of the brothers commemorated: I gather that they fell in their father's lifetime. It would thus appear probable that the stone was set up in the latter part of the sixth century; but further discussion of the historical references, which would seem to point to that time, would lead one too far from the question of metre which occupies us here. This agrees well enough with Hübner's guess that the inscription belongs to his second period.

¹ Skene, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

3. LLANGEFNI, ANGLESEY: see *Hübner*, 150; *Westwood*, p. 189; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1847, p. 42; 1856, p. 145.

The stone is in the vestry of the Parish Church, and is said to have been found in 1824 in taking down the wall of the old church. The legend, with the exception of the end of the first line, is fairly legible, and runs thus:—

CVLIDORI

IACIT

ET ORVVITE

MVLIER

SECVNDI

Here lies Cū-lidori,

And Oruvite wife of Cū-lidori,

Her second husband.

This is evidently to be regarded as forming an accentual hexameter, which may perhaps be scanned as follows:—

Culido|ri iācit | ét O"ru|vite | mūlier se|cūndi.

But how it should be construed it is not easy to say, and it is a matter of doubt how the last word is to be taken.

1. It looks as if the last two words meant "the wife of Secundus"; but why should she occupy the same grave with another man? 2. There is some analogy for treating *secundi* as a spelling of the adverb *secunde*, which one might be tempted to interpret as an equivalent for the usual *in pace*. But in that case one would have rather expected *mulier eius*. 3. One may take the last word as applying to Culidori, and that in one of two ways: (a) By assuming that his whole name was *Culidori Secundus*, and that the two vocables have only been divorced by the exigencies of the metre, somewhat in the same way as in the case of *Nudos Liberalis* in the Yarrow epitaph. (b) Or by interpreting *secundus* to mean that Culidori was the lady's second husband. This is the view to which I am inclined to give the preference.

The names unfortunately do not help us much as to the language and the accentuation: thus if they are Goidelic they might be represented as having the principal accent

on the first syllable and a secondary one on the third, *Cu'lidó'ri*, *O'ruv'ite*, while Brythonic may have had the reverse arrangement *Cu'lidó"ri Óruv'ite*. But both these sets would fit the verse equally well, not to mention that Brythonic may have accented here like Gaulish in the instances mentioned in connection with *Dumnogeni*, p. 6; but that is, perhaps, not here the best way to treat *Oruvite*. The termination *e* in the case of feminine nominatives occurs in others of our inscriptions, and it possibly belongs to the semi-Greek declension of which the *Berlin Corpus* supplies many instances: see vol. xii, p. 953. But it is more likely to be purely Celtic; for a Gaulish feminine like *rēda*, 'a chariot', made *rēdēs* in the genitive (Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, p. 102), and on Goidelic ground may be compared the Eglwys Cymun stone with *Avitoria* nominative in Latin, and *Avittoriges* (= *Avithorijēs*) for the genitive in Ogam. Here the instinct that works for uniformity might lead to the nominatives being given the forms of *rēde* and *Avittorige* respectively. As the Llangefni inscription is an early one found in Anglesey, it would not be surprising if one or both names should prove to be Goidelic. In fact I am inclined to treat *Culidori* so, and to analyse it into *Cū-lidori* (for an earlier *Cū-lidorīi*) after the analogy of *Cū-Chulainn* 'Culann's Hound', that is, "Culann's watchdog, guardian or champion". A name *Cū-Iothair*, which is given by the Four Masters A.D. 915, and involves *Lóthar*, a man's name in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, fo. 65^a, suggests itself here; but it does not seem to fit, so I try another name, *Kyledyr*, given in the Welsh story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*: see the *Oxford Mabinogion*, pp. 134, 141; Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 305, 315. The shortening of the Goidelic *cū* 'hound' in names involving it, and passing into use in Welsh, is evidenced in other instances: thus *Cū-Chulainn* occurs in Welsh as *Cochólyn*, and Welsh *Cyhóred* (also *Cynhóred*—in the *Liber*

Landavensis, *Conhórget*), represents an early Goidelic *Cū-Orgetas*, while a Goidelic *Cū-Urit* became in Welsh *Cywerŷd*, *Cyŵeryd*, as to which more anon.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period, but in his second group written across the stone *more Romano*. One can hardly regard it as later than the Llansadwrn stone (p. 31): I am not sure that it is not somewhat earlier.

4. CAER GAI, NEAR BALA, MERIONETH: see Hübner, 132; Westwood, p. 168; Rhys's "*Lect.*", p. 377.

The stone has been lost, but readings left by the antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt make it fairly certain that the following was the epitaph: IC IACIT SALVIANVS BVRQOCAVI FILIVS CVPITIANH, which would seem to scan thus:—

Ic iácit | Salvíānus | Burgóca|vi filius | Cupiti|áni.

Here lies Salvianus Burgocavis son of Cupitianus.

It belongs to what may be regarded as Ordovic territory, so the author's own language was presumably Brythonic, which the accent of *Burgócavi* would favour. But the case of that name is somewhat uncertain: it may possibly be the epithet belonging to Cupitiani, but I prefer to suppose it to stand for a nominative *Burgocavi-s* and to belong to Salvianus, meaning perhaps keeper or guardian of a, or the, burgh. The Latin cognomen Salvianus occurs on another stone found in the county: see Mr. Edward Owen's paper in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1896, p. 136. Had it been permissible to treat the name as *Salvíānus* I should be tempted to scan the epitaph somewhat differently.

Burgocavi reminds one of *Cavoseni* on a stone at Llannor on the other side of Bala: the latter is placed by Hübner in his first period and the Caer Gai epitaph is not likely to be much later, if at all.

5. LIMA HOUSE, PENTRE VOELAS, DENBIGHSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 158; *Westwood*, p. 202, pl. 87.

The stone was found in making the Holyhead Road, and it reads as follows:—

BROHOMAÇLI

The burial place of Brohomaglos :

IAM IC IACIT

Here he lies already

ET VXOR EIVΓ CAVNE

and his wife Caïne.

Inscriptions of this kind are remarkable for their brevity and the crudity of the syntax: the genitive is freely used, so the reader is left to supply the other noun, which I presume to have mostly been *locus* or some word meaning the place of burial: except for religious symbols it should come first. Sometimes so much importance was attached to the *locus*—the Irish often called it *locus resurrectionis*—that the deceased's title to it is briefly written on his monument, as in the case of the Llan Llyr stone and one of the crosses at Merthyr Mawr. This solicitude as to one's burial-place can be traced back to the Continent, where Christian monuments not only mention that the place of burial had been acquired by the deceased in his lifetime, but give the terms of his curse aimed at any one who durst appropriate it.

The word *jam* clearly betrays the poet, and his handiwork forms the following hexameter:—

Brohómag | li iam ic | iácit | et úxor | éjus Ca|úne.

Now not only is the accentuation - 2 - a favourite one at the beginning of the line, but we know from another compound of *maglos* 'hero or prince' that the stress fell on the thematic vowel preceding it. I allude to *Briaífael*, accented *Brüáfael*, and *Brigomaglos* already mentioned p. 7. Neither *Brohomagli* nor *Caune* could be here referred to Goidelic, as in that language they would have been

accented on the first syllable. The *h* in the former name supplies a still stronger obstacle ; but I wish to lay no stress on the latter, as it is only from this epitaph I learn that it is a trisyllable, *Caïne*. The *u* here had the sound approximately of French *u*, or possibly a still thinner sound, far gone in the direction of *i* ; and one would probably be right in identifying with this name the modern *Cain*, borne by the saint after whom is called Llangain, near Carmarthen : see the *Iolo Manuscripts*, p. 101, and Professor Rees, *loc. cit.*, p. 228. The saint is said to have been daughter of *Caw*, and it looks as if *Cain* were a derivative from *Caw* ; and to this may be added the fact that a masculine *Cain* occurs in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 205, where if the vowel *i* had been original we should have had *Cein* and not *Cain*.

The use of *h* for *ch* in Brohomagli is remarkable, but not without parallel, as we shall see later, for the spelling to be expected was *Brochomagli*. The name in the *Annales Cambrie* and the Nennian Genealogies was *Brochmail* (and less accurately *Brocmail*), whence the Medieval Welsh *Brochuail* and *Brochuael*. The modern Welsh is *Brochfael*, except in so far as its place has been usurped by *Brochvel*, the result seemingly of misreading the Medieval forms with *u*, intended for *v* or Welsh *f*. The Welsh *broch* meant a badger, Irish *brocc*, whence the English *brock* : so one would have to interpret the name *Brochomagli* as badger prince or badger hero, whatever such a compound may have exactly meant. Perhaps the first man named *Brochomaglos* belonged to a tribe of Badgers, or a people whose totem was the badger. I have no recollection of meeting with the name in Irish literature, but it is well-known in pedigrees of Welsh princes, and this brings me to the question of the date of the epitaph.

Hübner, judging by the lettering, places it in his second

period, which he confines to the sixth and seventh centuries. Now there was a Brochfael in command of a force to protect the monks of Bangor when Æthelfrith's attack was expected: the story represents the prince put to flight and the monks to the sword. According to the chronology of the *Annales Cambriæ* this was in the year 613, more correctly 616; but they mention also a Brochfael dying in 662. This would probably be another person: either of them may have been the man commemorated by the epitaph; but I should be disposed to give the preference to the later Brochfael.

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6. THE CATSTONE on the farm of West Briggs in the parish of Kirkliston, between six and seven miles from Edinburgh: see Hübner, 211; "The Academy", Aug. 29, 1891, p. 180; Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland" (London, 1863), ij, 209-11, plate; J. I. Simpson in the "Proceedings" of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv, p. 119 et seq.; Ed. Llwyd in the "Philosophical Transactions", vol. xxij for 1700-1 (London, 1702), No. 269, p. 790, plate.

So much of the lettering as one can make out with a fair amount of certainty stands thus:—

IN OC TV
 MVLO IACIT
 VETTA F . . A
 VICT . . .

The most noticeable peculiarity of this inscription is the smallness of the *O*. The *ili* of *filia* are too faint to be made out with certainty, and the last name has been sometimes treated as *Victi*; but Edward Llwyd, who was the first to call attention to the stone, shows that there was more writing than *victi*, and Daniel Wilson has suggested *victi*-. I have looked at the stone twice, and the second time I had the help of Dr. Daniell of Edinburgh, when we thought *vict* was followed by *rs*: this

was before either of us knew of Llwyd and Wilson's readings. We were, however, puzzled by finding no corresponding supply of vowels to make some such a genitive as *Victoris*; but bearing in mind that the *o* would be small and placed perhaps in the outer angle of the T, there might be no insuperable difficulty as to its presence. The case of the *i* would be still easier, as it may have sufficed if the perpendicular of the *R* was prolonged upwards a little, as sometimes occurs in Roman inscriptions. Supposing Wilson to have been right, his reading would point to **VICTORH** with the final *s* omitted and the final *i* cut horizontally: this would practically mean the same genitive *Victori(s)*. That it was either of the two spellings I consider to be now made almost certain by the fact of its yielding an accentual hexameter of the proper form, and scanning as follows:—

In oc | túmulo | iácit | Véttā | filja Vic|tórīs.

In this mound lies Vetta daughter of Victor.

Hübner risks no opinion as to the date of this epitaph, but I see no reason to suppose that it does not belong to our earliest period.

7. TREGONEY, CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 10.

The stone is built into the wall of the parish church and reads as follows:—

NONNITA	The burial place of Nonnitis,
ERCILIVI	Erciliu, and Ricat,
RICATI TRIS FILI	The three sons of
ERCILINCI	Ercilincu.

The following points call for notice in the matter of lettering: the diagonal of the *n* is horizontal, which makes it look an *h*; the first *a* and the first *v* are

upside down; *li* make a ligature, and so do *fi*. The letters are all capitals, but of a somewhat late kind. For the writing of *tris* for *tres* there is no lack of parallels, and as to the syntax the analogy of our inscriptions by no means requires *tris fili*, that is to say, *tres filii*, to have been in the genitive case because the antecedents are: sometimes the apposition words are allowed to appear in the nominative. The whole would seem to scan as follows:—

Nonníta | Érci|lí'vi Rí|cáti trés | filí Érci|lí'nei.

The accentuation seems to be Brythonic, but I suspect the inscription to be the work of one whose own language was Goidelic, as it seems to have also been of the family which he was proceeding to commemorate. The whole was meant to be Latin, and the ending of three of the genitives out of four is Latin. Thus *Ercilivi* seems to have been formed from a Goidelic nominative *Erciliū*, the Goidelic genitive of which would have been *Ercilien-as*, later *Ercilenn* (Brythonic *Ercilion-os*). The same sort of explanation applies to *Ercilinci*, except that the name had been first given a distinctly Brythonic form corresponding to an early Goidelic *Ercilincū*, genitive *Ercilincon-as*. But long, possibly, before the date of this inscription the nasal had been assimilated to the following guttural, and had as such disappeared, so that the forms must have become *Erciliccū*, genitive *Erciliccon-as*, which, according to analogy, may have resulted in *Erciliuc*, genitive *Ercilcon*, or better perhaps an intermediate form *Ercilicon*. Brythonic retained *nc*, so that *Ercilicon* or *Ercilcon* was transformed into Brythonic *Ercilinc-i*, with the Latin genitive ending. All this was the doing of the man of letters, and what happened where he did not interfere is illustrated on Welsh ground. For the *Liber Landavensis* supplies us not

only with *Ircil*, the common measure of the two longer cognates in the epitaph, but also with *Ercilinc-* with its *nc* submitted to the Goidelic treatment, namely, as *Irgillicg*, where the digraph *cg* is meant to represent the mute sound *g*, and the preceding *g* a spirant sound of *g* or *c*. The passage occurs at p. 159 of the Oxford edition, and reads *Tref irgillicg, id est tref ircil antiquo nomine*: the place meant seems to have been the same which in the lists at pp. 32, 43 is called *Trem Gyllicg* and *Tref Gillic*, the shorter forms having been arrived at by dropping the *ir*, which was, perhaps mistakenly, regarded as the Welsh definite article and as no essential part of the name. All this makes against any notion that *Ircil* is connected with the common Irish name *Erc*, and in favour of a pronunciation *Irchill* or *Erchill*, the genitive perhaps of an *Erchell* (= Arecell-) of the same origin as the Irish name *Airchella* in *Hui Airchellai*, mentioned in the *Book of Leinster*, 323^e, otherwise written *Urchailli* (genitive), namely, in Stokes's *Patrick*, where we have *Druim Urchailli* and *Domnach Vrchaile*, pp. 184, 185.

As to *Ricati*, that is presumably from *Rigacatu-s*, or *Rigocatu-s*, and shows that there was in Brythonic a *Ricat* probably along side of the *Riacat*, which was noticed at p. 8. The Goidelic pronunciation was probably *Ríchath* or *Ríchad*. So also with *Nonnita*, which, as a man's name, is to be distinguished from *Nonnita*, the name of St. Non, mother of St. David, in the Latin Life of the latter by Caradoc of Llancarfan: see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, ii, 108. I may add that an extinct church near Margam is called *Eglwys Nynnid* (in English spelled *Nunyd*), probably after some lady of the name of *Nonnita*. But a genitive *Nonnita* postulates an early Goidelic *Nonniti-s*, genitive *Nonniti-as*, which in the course of phonetic decay became *Nonnita*, with the *s* and the *i* elided

as usual. The Goidelic pronunciation would be more correctly *Nónnitha* or *Nónnida*, as the name is probably to be identified with the Irish one *Nannid* or *Nainnid*, genitive *Nanneda* or *Nainnida*, in spite of the difference of vowel. The elision of the *i*, as between *Nonnitias* and *Nonnita*, is comparatively late, though it is met with occasionally in Irish Ogam inscriptions. In fact everything indicates that this epitaph does not date before the seventh century, which agrees, so far as it goes, with Hübner's placing it in his second period. It is worthy of notice that in the time of the men here commemorated, not only were Goidelic names current in Cornwall, but the Goidelic language appears to have been alive as such, and well understood as regards some, at any rate, of the phonological points on which it differed from Brythonic.

8. LLANDAWKE, CARMARTHENSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 88; *Westwood*, p. 92.

The stone has an Ogam inscription on the edge, and the Latin reads, with *hic iacit* also on the edge:—

BARRIVENDH | FILIVS VENDVBARI | HIC IACIT

which seems to mean, "The burial place of Barrivend: here lies the son of Vendubarr." The *barr* with *rr* probably bore the accent, while the same syllable with only one *r* just as probably did not. The whole would seem to represent Goidelic accentuation and to scan as follows, if you take into account the difference between the primary and the secondary accent:—

Ba"rri|véndi | filius | Ve"ndu|bári hic | iácit.

The two names are made up of the same elements differently placed, and they may be, roughly speaking, rendered White-head; in Medieval Irish they were re-

spectively Barrpind and Findbarr, Welsh Berwyn and Gwynfar. As to the thematic *i* of *barri* and *u* of *Vendu* see the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1902, p. 35.

Hübner places this in his second period, and Westwood thought it not later than the sixth century, but his reasons, so far as he has suggested any, tend to diminish the value of his opinion.

9. LLANGAFFO, ANGLESEY: see *Hübner*, 148; *Westwood*, p. 187, pl. 83; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, p. 140.

A stone which seems to have formerly been used as a gate-post on the farm of Fron Deg in the parish of Llangaffo is now fixed in the wall of the vestry of the parish church. The lettering is in a very bad state of preservation: this is what I make of it:—

QVR	Parts only of the two "Hiberno-Saxon" <i>g</i> 's
QNIH	are left, but the second <i>g</i> is quite certain.
FILIU	Between <i>gur</i> and <i>gnim</i> there was probably a <i>u</i>
CUURID	or <i>v</i> . The <i>s</i> of <i>FILIUS</i> was probably never
CINI	there; at any rate there is no trace of it. The
ERE	next line seems to have had a minuscule <i>d</i> of
XIC	the same kind as in the last line; it may
HUNC	possibly have been an <i>s</i> , though I do not think
LAPI	it probable. The <i>m</i> in both instances has its
DEH	three perpendicular bars joined about half way
	down, so that it looks somewhat like HH
	pressed together into one character. The in-
	scription has been examined repeatedly by me, and the
	last time I had the valuable help of Prof. J. Morris Jones,
	who has also photographed the stone.

The reading which I have suggested would in full make the following:—

Gur[u]gnim filiu Cu-Urid Cini erexit hunc lapidem.

Gwrwnif son of Cu-Urid Cini set up this stone.

Arranged metrically the whole would stand thus :—

Gúruginim | filju | Cugríd | Cíni er | éxit hunc | láp'ídem.

That is an accentual hexameter ending with a dactyl, or else, as is far more probable, *lápídem* was shortened into *lapdem* or *laptem* in the author's pronunciation: compare the like treatment of this word in other inscriptions to be mentioned presently.

The names are of great interest in spite of the difficulties with which their obscurity has surrounded them. *Guruginim* equates exactly with the Irish *Gormgnim*, genitive *Gormgnima* (*Book of Leinster*, fo. 312^c), made up of *gním*, 'act, deed, feat, or exploit', and *gorm*, a word interpreted in O'Davoren's Glossary (Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 94), to have meant 'conspicuous, famous, illustrious', though it is better known as applied to colour, ranging, with somewhat primitive indefiniteness, from red to blue. So the compound as a proper name may be said to have meant "him of conspicuous deeds"; and the Irish name *Gormgal* (*Bk. of Leinster*, 323^c, 325^e), may be compared as involving *gorm* prefixed to *gal*, a word meaning any sensation, from a mere headache to the wildest fury of battle. So this name may be explained to have meant "him of conspicuous valour", and its Welsh equivalent occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* in the spelling *Gurgal* and the older one *Gurguol*, whence also *Guruol* (for *Gurg-gol*, *Gurg-gal*). The same compound it is, perhaps, that came down into Medieval Welsh as the abstract noun *gwrjal*, "an act of heroism" (*Myvyrian Archæology*, i, 207^b, 220^b). In Old Welsh the other compound occurs similarly used, namely, in an englyn in the ninth century Juvenius Codex, where we have *Niguru gnim molim trint[aut]*, "No heroic

effort is it to praise the 'Trinity', meaning it is no more than one's duty; and we have a sort of parallel a dozen lines further on—*Nit guorquim molim map meir*, "No deed of excess is it to praise Mary's Son"; see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 1, 2, and Stokes in the *Phil. Soc. Transactions*, 1860-1, p. 204. In these names Welsh *guru* corresponds to Irish *gorm*, in the same way as Welsh *cwrw* 'ale' and Old Welsh *anu*, later *enw*, 'name', do to Irish *coirm*, genitive *corma*, and *ainm*, genitive *anme*, respectively.¹

The longer name *Cuuridcini* it can hardly be wrong to analyse into Cu-Urid Cini, from which, if the *d* may be assumed to be the correct reading, one may detach *Cu-Urid* as a Goidelic name of which we have the genitive in *Conurit*, that is *Con-Urit*, in the *Liber Landavensis*; more correctly *Con-Urit* or *Con-Writ*, as we shall see presently. But in neither is the distinction of case recognized, which serves to show that these names were current among a people who had adopted Brythonic, a language in which case relations ceased to be distinguished by means of case endings. Now, a Goidelic Cū-Urit would become in the Brythonic of Wales, Cŭ-Urit or Cō-Urid, and coalesce into *Cowrid*, later *Cówerid*, to appear in the standard spelling as *Ciurit* and *Cywryd*. It is best known with

¹ It follows that the Welsh *gorm*, 'dun, dark brown', may be regarded as borrowed from Irish; so it would be unnecessary to postulate two Irish words *gorm*, as is done in Fick's *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, where one finds, p. 114, *gormo-s* 'warm, roth', and *gorsmo-s* 'dunkel'. I do not remember that *gorm* occurs alone as a proper name in Irish, but we possibly have its Welsh equivalent as *Gurw* in the name of *Eglwys Wrw*, a parish church near Newport in Pembrokeshire. The local etymologists are ever anxious to prove the name to be *Eglwys Erw*, which would mean "the Church of an acre". They may be right, but they are squeamish in any case as to *Wrw*, because it comes near *geryw* 'male', which is pronounced in some parts of Wales as *gerrw*, liable to be mutated to *urru*.

bleid 'wolf', making *bled-cu* 'wolf-hound', prefixed to make *Bledcuurit* in the *Liber Landavensis*,¹ and *Blegywryd* in Med. Welsh, mostly with the *d* elided. The name *Cŭ-Ūrit* would mean the Hound of Ūrit, a kind of name which was, as already suggested, a favourite one among the Goidels: thus in the *Liber Landavensis* *Con-Ūrit* was the son of a man named Concolen. This last vocable is no other than the genitive *Con-culainn* of the Irish name *Cŭ-chulainn*, and *Culainn*, the genitive of *Culann*, was itself a man's name. So probably also was *Ūrit* in *Cŭ-Ūrit*, and Nennius has a name *Mepurit* in the pedigree of Fernmail, a king ruling at one time over Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion, in the vale of the Wye: see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 193, where *Mepurit*² looks like an agglutination of *Map Ūrit*, rendering an Irish *Mac Ūrit*.

In the pedigree *Mepurit* is great grandson of Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern, as to whom I would remark, that it is

¹ That is probably the meaning also of the name *Bleiden* in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 155, though the purer or, let us say, the later Welsh form would have to be represented as *Bleidei*. In the same volume, however, we have *Bleideiurit*, p. xlvij, from a charter in the *Book of St. Chad*, and so should be treated the *Bleideiurit* at p. 219 of the *Liber Landavensis*.

² In a note Mommsen cites Zimmer as conjecturing it to be a corruption of *Map Iudnert*: why *Iudnert* I do not know, for the choice is not phonologically satisfactory. In *Mepurit* the second element is a monosyllable *Ūrit*, and so the *i* accounts for the change from *map* to *mep*, according to the usual rule, and *Mep-Ūrit* explains completely the MS. variants *Meuprit* and *Meprit*: all point to a single reading of the original; and if the second element, with this pronunciation, came to be used independently it would be certain to be written *Gurit*, *Gwrit*, or *Gwryd*, in Welsh. It is to be noticed that *Ūrit* must have been borrowed into Welsh before its initial *g*, *w* or *v* had become *f* in Irish. We seem to detect it in Irish in the genitive *Aperritti* on one of the Ballintaggart stones in Kerry, and in the Gaulish *Aterritus* and *Aterrita*: see the *Revue Celtique*, xi, 381, where we have also a related form mentioned, *Ūritu*: compare the Nîmes genitive *Ūrittonis* in the *Corpus I. L.*, xij, No. 3478.

possible he belonged to the Dési, who came over from what is now the county of Waterford to Dyfed or south-west Wales. At any rate it is remarkable that the name Vortigern occurs in Ireland in the inscriptions in the Dési district, and is otherwise not uncommon in Irish nomenclature, while on this side of the Channel it is, as far as I can remember, confined to the Hengist legend and Breton cartularies.

The name Cu-Ūrit, Cywryd, is, as already shown, not confined to the epitaph: we have it for instance in the *Welsh Triads*, i, 73=iiij 107, where a certain Gwenn, daughter of Cywryd ab Crydon, is mentioned, and Cyrwyt (*lege* Cywryt), son of Crydon, figures in a pedigree of Rhodri Mawr given at the beginning of the *Life of Gruffyd ab Cynan*: see the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, ij, 584. There was also a Cywryd of sufficient distinction to have his name mentioned in the first of the Englyns of the Graves in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*: see Evans's facsimile, 32^a, and Skene, *loc. cit.*, i, 309, ij, 28.

We now come to *Cini*, as to which I may point out that it is possibly to be equated with Irish *Cinni* in the genitive of a man's name, *Curpri Chinni*, in the *Book of Leinster*, 324^a, where it looks like a derivative from Irish *cenn*, 'a head or end', the equivalent of our Welsh *pen*. The meaning of *Cinni* I can only guess to have been that of principal or chief; but whatever it may have been we have the whole name presented in its proper Welsh form of *Gurit Penni* in the *Liber Landavensis*. At p. 72 we find a place called Mainaur Garth Benni, or simply Garth Benni; and in Garth Benni there was a church called Lanneusthennin in Garth Benni, p. 276, and more briefly Lanngarth Benni or Ecclesia Garth Benni, which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans fixes, p. 407, at Welsh Bicknor in the counties of Monmouth and Hereford. Now one cleric identified with that

ecclesia is described, p. 231, as Eithin de Garth Benni; another as Guenuor abbas Lann Garth Benni, p. 164; and a third as Guernabui princeps Garthbenni, "G. the Superior of Garth Benni," p. 164; also simply as Guernapui Guritpenni, "G. of Gurit Penni", p. 166. From these mentions I conclude that the church name, liable to be curtailed in more ways than one, was in full Garth Gurit Penni, or rather Lann Custenhin Garth Gurit Penni. In other terms the place-name was *Garth Gurit Penni*, the Garth, that is to say, of somebody called Gurit Penni. The word *garth* originally meant an enclosure, like its Irish equivalent *gort* 'a field'; but *garth* has been largely applied to hill-top enclosures of an ancient type, and thereby it is become the name of the hills themselves which they crowned. But I am chiefly interested here in Gurit Penni as the equivalent of *Urid Cini* or *Urit Cini*, which reminds one of a mention in the *Triads*, i, 59=ij, 16=ij, 109, of one of Arthur's three Gwenhwyfars as daughter of Gwryd Gwent or *Gawryd* (also *Gawrwyd*) Ceint, for they differ hopelessly. Gwryd Gwent points in the direction of Monmouthshire and of Garth Urit Penni, while *Ceint* in Medieval Welsh meant Kent, further away still; but as a matter of fact there is a Ceint in Anglesey itself, not far from the Menai Straits. I mention these allusions though I hardly know what to make of them, but possibly we have here a confused echo of Cū-Urid Cini. Should that prove so, one might regard the distances between the places named as pointing to a time when the coast of Wales, the Severn Sea, and the south coast of England were infested by invaders from Ireland, about the close of the Roman Occupation.

The top of the stone probably bore a cross at first, and the opposite face of it is now imbedded in the wall, but it had probably nothing on it: at least this is

what one would gather from Westwood's silence on the point. As to the date, Hübner has placed this epitaph in his third group of the seventh and eighth centuries: the character of the lettering seems to make an earlier time improbable. But it is remarkable that while the deceased's name was decidedly Welsh, that of his father was as decidedly Goidelic; so one is tempted to think it points to the transition when Goidelic was dying out. I am at present hardly disposed to regard that transition as extending into the eighth century. But it is to be noticed that the retention of Cini without being altered into its equivalent Brythonic with an initial *p*, rather suggests that Goidelic and Brythonic were not both understood, at any rate by the author of the epitaph.

9. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE. *The stone is the great wheel cross outside the chapter house: see Hübner, 72; Westwood, p. 27, pl. 15; "Arch. Camb.," 1894, pp. 251-3, pl.: 1899, pp. 15-17, 19, pl., 140-1.*

The writing occupies the two left-hand spaces in the wheel above and below the left arm of the cross, the two opposite spaces having, so far as I can judge, been left blank. The writing is very faint in the former, and so far as I can make it out it stands thus: Con|belin . . | suit . . | anc . . | rucem | | nima mu | | | ; and having regard to the spaces it may be completed thus: Con|belin po|suit h|anc c|ru|cem | pro a|nima mu|lieris | eius | . The last word may have been *sue* for *sue*; but the analogy of other Glamorgan instances points rather to the incorrect use of *eius*. The whole would accordingly scan as follows:—

Conbēlin | pōsūt hanc | crūcem pro | ánima | mūlieris | éius.

Cynfelyn set up this cross for the soul of his wife.

Neither Hübner nor Westwood suggest any date for this cross, but Mr. J. Romilly Allen treats it as pre-Norman, as does also Mr. Ward of the Cardiff Museum: one might probably assign it to the ninth or tenth century.

10. CAMBORNE, CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 8; *Borlase's "Cornwall"*, p. 401, pl. 36; *Haddan and Stubbs's "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents"*, vol. i, p. 699.

The writing is on the flat face of an oblong stone, and so arranged near the margin as to leave the middle empty except for a small cross which is cut there. It reads—*Leuiut iusit h̄c altare pro anima sua*, where one has to understand *hoc altare* or perhaps *h̄c altaria*. It makes a hexameter as follows, of the accentual kind:—

Léuiut | iússit | h̄c al|tare pro | ánima | súa.

Hübner is content to say as to the date “tribuunt sæculo octavo vel nono”, but to whom he more especially refers he does not say. I may mention, however, that Haddan and Stubbs place it in their list of *Sepulchral Christian Inscriptions*, A.D. 700-1000.

11. LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 63; *Westwood*, p. 11; “*Arch. Camb.*”, 1899, p. 153.

The inscription reads now: *ninomine dī patris & f̄ | [s]peretus santdi anc | [cr]ucem houelt prope | [ra]bit pro anima res pa|[tr]es eus*. The beginnings of the lines are gone except the first, and this shows *nin* for *inn*, which seems to indicate that the inscriber cut five perpendiculars ||||| and joined the wrong ones together. The middle of the line has *dī* for *dei*; more usually we have simply *di*. The line ends with *f* surmounted with a mark

indicating an abbreviation for *fili*, which appears to have been overlooked, and to have been inserted in this way at the very edge. In *properabit*, which was probably meant for *preparavit*, we have *b* used for *v*, as was commonly done in late Latin, and in the Old Welsh Glosses of the ninth century. Also *es* instead of *is* in *patres* has plenty of analogy in Latin inscriptions, especially in Christian ones. Lastly, *eus* for *eius*, is probably due to the inscriber's carelessness, and the whole, corrected accordingly, may be scanned as follows :—

In nómi | ne déi | pátris et | fili | spíritus | sáneti
 Hane crúcem | Hóuelt | prop'ravit | pro án'ma | Rís pátris | éius.

In the name of God the Father and the Son the Holy Ghost,
 This cross Houelt prepared for the soul of his father Rhys."

Ris patris does not accentually make the strongest kind of dactyl for our rhythm, as *patris* claims a part of the stress which, according to the foregoing analogy, *Ris* requires, so I am not quite confident that I have hit on the right metre of the second line.

Hübner is content to say as to the date, "creditur esse sæculi noni," and Westwood fixes it in that century on the wrong supposition, that the name Houelt, cognate with Irish Sualdaim, is merely a form of the commoner name *Howel* or *Hywel*, which led him to identify Houelt with a certain Howel son of Rhys, belonging to the ninth century. Nevertheless, I have no objection to the suggestion that the inscription dates from that century. As to the Celtic theology, which identified the Son with the Holy Spirit, see Mr. Conybeare's paper on "The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church", in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1897-8, pp. 84-117.

12. LLANSADWRN, NEAR BEAUMARIS, ANGLESEY: see *Hübner*, 153; *Westwood*, p. 188, pl. 85; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, p. 139 (*Lewis Morris*), also "*Arch. Camb.*", 1847, p. 259 (*H. Longueville Jones*).

A stone taken out in digging a grave in 1742 has had the legend on it by this time reduced to the following fragmentary state—

HIC BEAT
SATVRNINVS SE
ACIT.ET SVA SA
CONIVX-PA

With the aid, however, of the readings given by *Lewis Morris* and *Longueville Jones*, one may give the following as representing the epitaph at an earlier stage:

HIC BEAT	Here Saturninus lies, the truly blest;
SATVRNINVS SEPS	Here doth his holy wife Paterna
IACIT.ET SVA SA	rest;
CONIVX-PA	Lightly may the earth lie upon her
CVIS	breast.

On this basis the following might be inferred to have been the original:—

Hic be|átus | vír Satur|nínus | sépsemet | iácit.
Et súa | sáncta | cónjux.Pa|térna cui | sit térra | lévis.

It has been attempted to read **SEPS** into an abbreviation of *sepultus*, but that is inadmissible, as such abbreviations have next to no place in our inscriptions, and as to *cui sit terra levis*, I have only to say that it was a common ending enough of Latin epitaphs, and that it just fits here to explain *Morris's* **CVIS**, though it is open to the same remark on the score of accent as the instance last mentioned.

The date of the inscription is impossible to fix: the lettering, in spite of the T having its lower part turned

forward like that of a minuscule t, might be regarded as belonging to any time from the end of the fourth century to that of the seventh. Hübner has placed this stone in his first period, p. xxi, and by that he meant, as already suggested, the time from the cessation of Roman inscriptions, about the middle of the fifth century to the opening of the sixth. Within this first period he distinguishes two groups, the first of which consists of inscriptions written down the face of the stone, *more Celtico*: the second group consists of inscriptions written horizontally across the face of the stone, *more Romano*. But in the present case he has, in my opinion, committed two mistakes: this particular instance was undoubtedly written downwards and not across; and it is highly improbable that he was right in regarding those written *more Romano* generally as later than the others: I should have guessed just the reverse. Coming back to the name Saturninus, I may mention that it was a well-known Roman cognomen, and that it occurred in Roman Britain. In Welsh it becomes *Sadyrnin*, while *Saturnus* yields *Sadwrn*; and there is a church called Llansadyrnin in the south-west of Carmarthenshire, which Professor Rice Rees, *loc. cit.*, p. 305, states to have received its name from a ninth century Sadyrnin, who was bishop of St. David's. But mention is made in the *Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 141, 545, of another Sadyrnin, who dates earlier, and is represented as son of Sadwrn, son of Gynyr of Caer Gawch, the same Gynyr who was father of Non, mother of St. David. So this Sadyrnin would be cousin to David, and that would probably bring his death into the earlier half of the sixth century. If this identification should prove tenable, it would explain in an easy way why the epitaph has Saturninus (*Sadyrnin*) while the church is called that of *Sadwrn* (*Saturnus*): I take it that the son Sadyrnin had

it called after his father Sadwrn. The more usually accepted view, however, is different, namely, that Saturnus was a Sadwrn Farchog 'Saturnus the Knight', from Brittany, brother of St. Iltutus or Iltud, which would also point approximately to the early part of the sixth century: *see the Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 134, 536-7. To this there is a serious objection, namely, that it postulates the identity of the name Saturninus (Sadyrnin) with Saturnus (Sadwrn): in the absence of facts to the contrary I see no more reason for this than for treating *Williams* and *Williamson* as one and the same man. On the whole I should be disposed to regard the epitaph as belonging to the earlier half of the sixth century.

13. LLANDYSILIO, PEMBROKESHIRE: *see Hübner*, 97; *Westwood*, p. 112.

The stone reads CLVTORIÇI FILI PAVLINI MARINILATIO "the burial place of Clutorix son of Paulinus Marinus of Latium". On this one has to remark that in Irish Latinity the name Latium applied not only to the part of Italy so called, but also probably to any place called in Irish Letha and in Welsh Llydaw. The latter commonly meant Brittany, but there was probably a Snowdonian locality so called where there is still a Llyn Llydaw. There may have been other Llydaws, and I cannot tell where this Paulinus came from, but in my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 531-6, I have suggested Llangorse by the Lake of Savadon, near Brecon. However, if we may render his name "Paulinus the Mariner" it cannot be denied that it naturally suggests Brittany, and that he was one of a number of Armoricans settled near the Lake of Savadon. Tysilio was the patron saint of Llandysilio, it is needless to say; but among a number of churches ascribed to him by the twelfth-century bard Cyndelw, one is called Llan Llydaw

‘the Church of Llydaw’ (*Mynyrian Arch.*, i, 245^b), which was possibly this Llandysilio under an alternative name derived from the Paulinus mentioned on the old stone. Now as to the metre, the epigraph seems to scan thus:—

Clúto|rígi | fili Pau|lini | Maríni | Látjo.

So far we have had to do chiefly with instances ending | ˘ - - | ˘ - |, while here we have | - ˘ - | ˘ - |; but this, as will be seen, does not stand alone.

Hübner places this inscription in his second period.

14. SPITTAL, PEMBROKESHIRE: see *Hübner*, 99; *Westwood*, p. 109.

The stone seems to read **EVALI FILI DENOVI CVNIOVENDE MATER EIVS**, “the burial place of Eval, son of Denov, Cuniovende his mother set up the stone”. There is a doubt as to the first *O*, since it is imperfect, but the last time I looked at it I thought it too nearly a complete circle to be a *C*, to which I had been in the habit of giving the preference. The scanning of this epigraph and the next might perhaps be referred to the kind of line known as the Greater Sapphic, but I prefer treating them as instances of the accentual hexameter as follows:—

Evali | fili | Denovi | Cunióven|de máter | éjus.

The metre does not help one to fix the accentuation of *Evali* and *Denovi*. The former is probably to be identified with the Irish genitive *Eoíl* in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 349^e (also nominative *Eoíl*, fo. 352^e), *Denovi* is perhaps to be identified with *Dinui* (possibly for *Dinuvi*) on the Gulval stone (Hübner 3). *Cuniovende* may possibly be the female name which occurs in Welsh as *Ceinwen*, which I have not identified in Irish.

Hübner places this inscription in his second period.

15. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 75; *Westwood*, p. 30; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, p. 138.

The stone is in the church, and reads, in minuscules:—
ilci fecit | hanc cruce | m in nomin | e di summi. I take *di* to stand for *dī* or *dei*, and the scanning reminds one of the previous instance:—

Ílci | fécit | hanc crúcem | in nómin|e déi | súmmi.

Ilci made this cross in the name of God the most High.

The name *Ilci* is probably to be identified with that which occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* as *Elci* and *Eleu*.

Westwood gives it as his opinion that the lettering is of a more ancient form than that on the crosses of Grutne and Brancuf, the former being regarded by him as of the eighth or ninth century, while he has treated the Brancuf one as not earlier than the ninth or later than the tenth. In any case the *Ilci* cross can hardly be earlier than the eighth century.

ii. ELEGIACS.

We now come to instances of couplets having for their original model Latin elegiacs. The pentameter is sometimes difficult to recognize in its accentual form, and especially to distinguish from the accentual hexameter. It will be found that in the matter of the use of dissyllabic feet, the second half of the pentameter is treated with the same freedom as the first. But this and other characteristics of the metre will be best understood by studying the instances themselves, to which we are now coming.

16. KIRKMADRINE, WIGTONSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 205.

Used as gate-posts in the wall of the burying-ground were found two inscribed stones with the monogram of Christ enclosed in a circle, and the longer of the two inscriptions reads as follows:—

A ET Ω
XPI
HIC IACENT
SCI ET PRAE
CIPVI SACER
DOTES ID ES[T]
VIVENTIVS
ET MAVORIVS

The *t* of *est* is gone, and owing to an ambiguous ligature the last name may be either *Mavorius* or *Manorius*; but *Hübner's* *Maiores* does not seem to me a possible reading. The small *t* is attached to the middle bar of the *e* in *et*.

The whole was evidently meant to make an elegiac couplet of the accentual kind, thus:

Alpha et|Omega | CHRÍSTUS Hic | iacent | sánci prae|cípi
Sacer|dótes id | est || Vivéntius | et Mavor|ius.

Christ is Alpha and Omega: Here lie holy, eminent priests,
That is to say, Viventius and Mavorius.

It is not necessary to suppose *Viventius* accented *Viventius*, as we have such an accentuation in classical elegiacs, as Ovid's *siccáque sémper híemps*, forming the second half of a pentameter, while the first half of our pentameter may be compared with Propertius's *Nec desérta tuo || nómine sáxa vócant*, or Ovid's *Grandevíque négant || dúcere arátra bóves*.

There was a Latin cognomen *Viventius*, and it was probably selected as rendering some such a name as Irish *Béoín* or *Béoóc* from the adjective *beo* 'live, *vivus*'. I have no light to throw on the origin of *Mavorius* or *Manorius*. The former, however, might perhaps be regarded as related to *Movor* in the name of the church of Merthyr Mawr in

Glamorganshire, where *Mawr* seems to be a corruption of *Movor*: for this and other forms of the name see the passages in which it is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*.

As to the date of the two inscriptions at Kirkmadrine suffice it to say, that Hübner reckons them in his first period, the fifth or sixth century.

17. HAYLE, IN CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 7.

The stone is in a very bad state of preservation, but what I could read, and what others had read before, may be represented as in the margin. Treated as verse it becomes comparatively easy to fill the lacunæ with an approach to certainty, as follows:—

HIC	
CE MVL . . .	HIC IN PA CE MVLIER REQVIEVIT
REQVIEVIT	NOMINE CVNAIDE HIC TVMVLO IACIT
. . . N	VIXIT ANNOS XXXIII.

CVNAIDE	It seems to scan thus:—
HIC	Híc in páce múlíer re quíévit nóm'ne Cu náide.
TVMVLO	Hic túm'lo iácit ví xít ánnos trigínta trés
IACIT	
VIXIT	Here takes her rest in peace
	The wife yeleft Cunaidë.
ANNOS	Here in the grave she lies :
XXXIII	She lived three years and thirty.

One would have expected *Hic in tumulo*, but there is no trace to be found of the *in*, though there was plenty of room for it: I conclude that it was never there.

Hübner has placed this inscription in his second period,

but I do not see why he should not have reckoned it older, except that he may have been influenced by his unfortunate theory, that epitaphs arranged *more Romano* are later than the others.

18. MERTHYR MAWR, NEAR BRIDGEND, GLAMORGAN: see *Hübner*, 66; *Westwood*, p. 17; "*Arch. Camb.*," 1899, 156.

The great cross at Merthyr Mawr comes from a spot near Witney farm, between Merthyr Mawr and Laleston: it stood about ten yards from the fence, not in it. This is its history, as kindly corrected by Mr. J. Illtyd D. Nicholl, the squire of Merthyr Mawr, who was good enough last year to have this stone and another near the house buried in the ground so as to clean them of lichen. He invited me last August to come and re-examine both; and the result as regards the present stone was that I was able to read more than before, and to correct at some points what I had guessed on my previous visits. The inscribed surface is divided by a groove across into two panels, but the middle of the stone is worn out, so that nothing I fear can enable one to read the end of the first panel and the beginning of the second: it looks as if the stone had been used as a threshold for a long while some time or other. Another suggestion made to me was that the wear was effected by sheep rubbing against it for centuries. I do not know which theory to prefer: in either case the result is greatly to be deplored. My guesses are as follows, with the lines numbered for the sake of reference; but I must confess that I am not absolutely certain of the original number of them—the doubt is as to those below

the dividing groove and the line to which I have prefixed 11:—

1. inomine ȝi pat
2. rif & fili fperi
3. tuf fagti. ha
4. [nc cruce] m. [pro a
5. n]ima . . et. . . .
6. . . . in . . t . . .
7. . . . e
8. [fuit]
9. lle . iltut
10. f . d
11. i . posit . se . lo
12. co isto . . ingre
13. fium . in pro
14. prium . usqē
15. in diem iudici

It is hardly worth the while to discuss these guesses in detail, but the following notes may prevent them misleading anybody:—The *s* is everywhere of the angular gamma form: the contraction of *dei* has the line over the *d*. *fili speritus* is certain, and the adjective seems to be spelt *sagti*, there is no room for an *n*. The *ha* at the end of line 3 is fairly certain, but not so *nc cruce* of the next line, which those letters would rather crowd; perhaps if I have hit on the right words the spelling was

hancrucem, just as we have *inomine* for *in nomine*. *pro an* is a guess. The *t* in line 5 may be a *g*. Line 7 seems to begin with *n* or *si*, but the only letter I could feel certain about is the *e*. Line 8, *fuit* was not sought for, but suggested by the guesses which I jotted down. Line 9, the *lle* seemingly belongs to *ille*, and *Iltut* is fairly certain, but I was unable to detect the case ending, which I regret, for the point after *ille* does not favour *ille Iltutus*. Line 10 is all uncertain, but it should end with a word whose ending *i* begins line 11. *Posit. se.* suggested to me *posuisse* and *possit esse*, but I could not fit either of them in. *Loco* has the peculiarity that the *o* is attached to the rounded *l*, or is rather continued from it: the same thing happens to the *o* following the *c*, to which I may add that in this instance the *o* is an oval placed horizontally, so that I took it formerly for an *a*. In line

13 the *u* of *greþium*, more usually *graphium*, is a sort of intermediate form between *u* and *o*. In line 14 *usque* was written *usqē*. In the last line the *c* is distinctly angular, and the lower part of the *e* is angular also throughout the inscription, while the top is more that of a minuscule.

According to the guesses just given, the first panel would seem to have formed an elegiac couplet of the accentual kind as follows, in the ordinary orthography:—

In nómin|e déi | pátris et | fili | spíritus | sáncti :
Hanc crúcem | pro anim|a|| fé|cit

The verses next to follow I am unable to restore, but the ending *pósit | se lóco | ísto* would do as that of an accentual hexameter: then comes a pentameter of the same kind, as follows:—

In gréþium | in própri|um || úsque in dí|em iúdi|ci||

The space, however, would suggest rather more than a couplet here, and it is possible that it was a hexameter plus three half-pentameters, with the words *posit se loco isto* ending the first of the three, unless it was rather two hexameters plus a pentameter. In any case the groove across the face of the stone would seem to have been intended to separate the two stanzas.

Lastly, as to the nature of the transaction referred to as committed to a written document, here called *greþium*, that is *graphium*, I have no doubt that it was the legal acquisition by the deceased of the plot of ground which was to be his burial place, where this cross, probably of the seventh or eighth century, was originally set up. Plenty of illustrations occur in the Christian epitaphs of the Continent, such as those of Rome collected by De Rossi. We have another Celtic instance, to be mentioned shortly, in the case of the Llanllyr stone, where a saint is also made a party to the transaction. The country round Merthyr

Mawr was decidedly within the sphere of the influence of St. Illtus or Illtud, but the state of the legend does not enable one to define the part which the saint was supposed to act through his successor at the time here in question: probably the transaction would not have been considered valid without the latter's express approval.

19. PENMACHNO CHURCH, NEAR BETTWS Y COED, CARNARVONSHIRE:
see Hübner, 135; Westwood, p. 176; Rhys's "Lectures," pp. 369, 370.

The inscription reads continuously on two faces of the stone *more Celtico* as follows:—CANTIORI HIC IACIT | VENE-
 DOTIS CIVE FVIT | CONSOBRINO || MAGLI | MAGISTRAT-
 H. The top of the stone is broken, and most of the *c* of *consobrinio* is gone. There is plenty of analogy for *cives* and *consobrinios*, as nominatives singular: *see* the *Corpus*, vii, 52, 66; xii, p. 955^b, and for instances of the final sibilant omitted, as in *cive* and *consobrinio*, *see* xii, p. 956^a. The conversion of *magistratūs* into *magistrati* is also to be put down as Latin, and not as a whim of the Celtic inscriber. The whole appears to scan as follows:—

Cánti|óri | hic iác|it Ven|édotis | cive(s),
 Fúit con|sobrín|o(s)||Mágli mag|istrát|i||

The burial place of Cantiorios: here he lies, citizen of Venedos;
 He was the cousin of Mael the magistrate.

Owing to the breakage, one cannot say whether the epitaph did not begin with the monogram; but in case it did, the scanning of the first line would be probably as follows:—

CHRÍSTUS | Cánti|óri hic | iácit Ven|édotis | cive(s).

The name *Magli*, nominative *Maglo-s*, is in Welsh *Mael*; but *Cantiorios* awaits identification: it is possibly a derivative from the shorter *Cantio-s*, feminine *Cantia*, as to

which see Holder under *Cantius*; he gives also *Cantus*. The accentuation of *Venedotis* I take to have been that of the Brythonic genitive *Venedōtos*, which was presumably *Venédōtos*; the later forms are Gwyned, “Venedotia, or N. Wales,” representing a nominative *Venēdos* or possibly *Vēnēdos*, and *Gwynduwt*, *Gwynudod*, from *Venedōt-os*, the alternative to *Venédōt-os*: see pp. 6-10 above. Thus the language of the inscriber would seem to have been Brythonic rather than Goidelic.

Westwood speaks of this epitaph as a Welsh inscription of the sixth or seventh century, and Hübner places it among those of his first period.

20. ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL: see *Westwood*, in “*Arch. Camb.*” for 1892, pp. 78-80.

A portion of an elaborate cross was discovered there with an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon letters reading:

Pontificis | Abraham | filii hic hed | 7 Isaac. quies|cunt.

To the right, and therefore perhaps to be read after the foregoing, are the letters $\bar{A}_7 \bar{\omega}$ IHS XPS. In that case the whole may be regarded as an elegiac couplet of the accentual kind as follows:—

Pontific|is Ábra|ham filii | hic Héd et | Ísac qui|éscunt
 Álpha | et Óme|ga || Ihs|us Chrís|tus||

Here bishop Abraham's sons Hedd and Isaac rest:
 Jesus Christ is Alpha and Omega.

As to the date of this monument suffice it to say that Abraham appears to have been bishop of St. David's from 1076 to 1078.

21. LLANDDEWI BREFL, CARDIGANSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 120; *Westwood*, p. 140.

The stone was disgracefully treated in the so-called restoration of the church some years ago, when it was broken into several pieces, two of which are in the wall with the lettering visible, while the others cannot be identified. One of the former is upside down about 10 feet from the ground, and reads now :—

DNERT FILIVS I
VIT PROPTER PR

The other has on it OCCISVS with the lower ends of letters belonging to the line above, they may be the remains of the words *hic iacet*. I have not succeeded in finding any more, but Edward Llwyd contributed a sketch of the portion of the inscription which was visible on the stone in his time to the first edition of Gibson's Camden's *Britannia* (London 1695) and it reads thus, col. 644:—

+ HIC IACET IDNERT FILIVS I
QVI OCCISVS FVIT PROPTER P
SANTIC

The stone was then also in the wall of the church, but Llwyd took for granted that the inscription was complete, though he could not see the whole of it, notably the *r*, which is still intact at the end of the second line of the longer fragment. In his sketch the *c* after *sancti* has been dotted by him at the top into a τ ; for he guessed the whole word to have been *sanctitatem*. His note runs thus :
“it's probably such an Epitaph as might become that martyr'd Bishop of Lhan-Badarn, who, as Giraldus informs us, was barbarously murder'd by some profane Wretches of his Diocese. For I am apt to conjecture it may bear this sense; *Hic jacet Idnert* (alias *Idnerth*) *filius I qui occisus fuit propter Pietatem et Sanctitatem*. But I

had rather such as have opportunity of doing it, would satisfy their curiosity, by causing some stones under it to be remov'd, and so reading the whole inscription, than that they should rely on my conjecture." In the next edition of Gibson's *Camden* (London, 1722), ii, 769, the same sketch of the inscription appears, except that the dotted letter after *sancti* has disappeared, without any indication that any writing at all followed that word. But in the accompanying note he says, that "upon a review of this monument," it appeared that the first line was to be completed by adding *acobi*, the second by *redam*, and the third by *Dawid*. The whole reference to the murdered Bishop of Llanbadarn Fawr is omitted; but how he got the supplementary portions of the inscription is not stated; and Meyrick, in his *Cardiganshire* (p. 269, plate v, fig. 2), knew no better than to copy Llwyd, specifying what Llwyd had conjectured to finish the three lines. There is no suggestion that anybody had seen the ends of those lines, but on the whole I am inclined to think that Llwyd, or somebody for him, had been able, by removing a bit of the mortar, to discover the *r* following the *p* in the second line, and the *a*, or *ac* perhaps, of *Jacobi*; also to find that no *t* or *c* followed *Sancti*. The rest was probably Llwyd's conjecture, but it would be hard to improve on *predam*, and there is no objection to *Iacobi*, though any other name like *Idwállon* would do equally well. I am more doubtful as to *Dawid*, for the saint would be understood to be the patron saint of the church, so there was no need to name him; not to mention that the metre makes any word after *sancti* inadmissible. The question therefore resolves itself to this, was the epitaph meant to be metrical? I believe that it was, and that it is to be scanned as a truncated hexameter followed by a pentameter, or else—with a pious formula at the beginning—as an elegiac couplet of the

usual accentual kind, somewhat as follows :—

Crúc Salva|tòris | Hic iacet | Idnerth | filius Ia|cobi
Quí oc|císus fú|it || própter | prédám Sánc|ti.

The Saviour's Cross : Here lies Idnerth son of James,
 Who was slain because of the Saint's property.

As regards the man commemorated, it is probable that he was killed in defending the church against raiders, or because he may have refused to disclose where they should find the valuables of the church, the goods and chattels of the saint. Who Idnerth was we do not know. Llwyd's mention of Idnerth in the same note with the murdered Bishop of Llanbadarn, though he cancelled it in the second edition, has blossomed into a most improbable legend. Westwood, improving on some very loose reasoning on the part of Haddan and Stubbs, i, 146, 625, was induced to say that "the inscription has been said to refer to Idnerth, the last Bishop of Llanbadarn, who was murdered in A.D. 720". But it does not appear whether any bishop of the name of Idnerth has otherwise been heard of, still less that he was the last bishop of that See, or that he was killed, or that any bishop was killed in 720. Then why should he have been commemorated at Llanddewi in another diocese? For the satisfaction of anyone who may wish to examine this little story I add the rest of the necessary references :—Giraldus's *Itinerarium Kambrice* (London, 1868), lib. ii, cap. iv (pp. 121, 122); Rice Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 216; and *Brut y Tywysogion* in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, ii, 472. The name *Idnert* would be more correctly spelt *Idnerth*, but in any case it is a comparatively late form; to go back to the year 720, when the diocese of Llanbadarn is last heard of (*Myvyrian Arch.*, *loc. cit.*), it would have to be *Iudnerth*. So far from the epitaph dating from 720, I should think it much more likely to refer to the plundering of Llanddewi by the brothers Ithel

and Madog in the year 1106: see the Oxford *Bruts*, p. 284, and Williams ab Ithel's *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 90.

22. LLANELLYD, NEAR DOLGELLEY. MERIONETHSHIRE: see *Westwood*, 157; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1897, p. 139.

The writing on the stone is rather hard to read, and in one place the letters are gone; what I was able to make out was: Vestigiū. Re . . . ic. te|netur. in. capite la|pidis. Et. ipsemet. a|ntequam. peregre. pro|fectus | est But Professor Westwood, over twenty years ago, when the stone was somewhat more legible than it is now, read the personal name *Reuhic*, which I should regard as *Reu. hic*. For *Reu* occurs twice in the *Liber Landavensis*—once as the name of a clerical witness. It seems to be a dissyllable, and the same name which occurs in Breton as *Rio*: see De Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon*. Bearing this in mind, one finds that the legend reduces itself readily into an accentual elegiac couplet except for *lapidis*, which requires to be read as *lap'dis*, as in the case of the Llangaffo stone and others: see Nos. 9, 43, 64. Then as to *profectus est*, there is no reason to treat it here as in the classics, namely, as pronounced *profectust*. Accordingly the scanning would be as follows:—

Vestigium | Rēu | hīc te|nētur in | cāpite | lāp'dis
Et ipse|met ānte|quam || pēregre | profēctus | ēst ||

This seems to mean:—"The footprint of Rēu is here at the top of the stone, and he was here himself before he went abroad." It would appear from this that he went on a pilgrimage; but he may not have done anything more than move away to Landaff, if one may venture to identify him with the cleric to whom I have referred.

Altogether the inscription is a very singular one, of the

tenth or perhaps the ninth century. Westwood calls the letters "very debased Hiberno-Saxon characters".

iii. PENTAMETERS AND HALF PENTAMETERS.

23. LLANGADWALADR, NEAR BODORGAN, ANGLESEY: *see Hübner*, 149; *Westwood*, p. 190; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1846, p. 166 (*H. Longueville Jones*).

The stone is in the church, having been at the late restoration fixed in the north wall and cleared of the mortar, which partly covered it in its former position in another part of the building. The inscription is now found to be surmounted by a cross, which is, however, not quite perfect, so that it is impossible to say whether it was not meant for the monogram of Christ. But the whole is more complete, and forms a far more respectable monument, than one could gather from the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where no proper representation of it has yet been published. I cannot discuss the peculiarities of the lettering, but suffice it to say that it recalls the features of the Hiberno-Saxon hand, such as it appears in the *Book of Kells*. The whole reads:—*Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum*. The superlatives suggest the court bard, but I am by no means clear as to his metre; possibly it is to be scanned as follows, as two lines of pentameter:—

Catá|manus | réx || sapien|tíssim|us ||

Opína|tíssim|us || ómni|um rég|um ||

Cadvan a most wise king,

Of all kings the most renowned.

The name *Catamanus* was represented in Gaulish by

Catumandus, for which see Holder, s.v. How early *nd* was reduced to *nn* in Brythonic speech, it is hard to say ; but had the *Catamanus* of the epitaph been intended to be accented on the penult, it would most likely have been written *Catamannus*. In other terms there appear to have been here two pronunciations, one the *Catámanus* suggested for the verse, and the other the *Cátama"nnus* postulated by the later Welsh forms written *Catman*, *Catvan*, *Cadfan*, and made in Anglican mouths into *Cadmon* as the name of Northumbria's first poet in the seventh century. Had the former survived, it would have been as *Cadáfán*, but as far as I know it does not occur. Duplicates of this kind have been discussed at p. 8, and to them may be added the case of *Cadfael* 'battle-prince', in Medieval Irish *Cathmál*, which must have been matched by an alternative form, *Cadafael*. This was apparently the name of Penda's ally from North Wales, who left him suddenly in the lurch, and thereby earned the nickname of *Cad(g)afael* *Cadomect*, or, as Nennius has it, *Catgabail Catyuommed*, 'the battle seizer that battle declines': see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 208.

The king of Gwyned commemorated by this epitaph died in the earlier half of the seventh century, and the epitaph was probably carved soon after his death.

24. LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE : see *Hübner*, 61 ; *Westwood*, 10 ; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, pp. 150-2.

The cross is gone which seems to have formed the upper portion of the stone, but the shaft remaining has on it inscriptions in three double compartments. The one on the front face reads: † Sam|son | posuit hanc cr|ucem
† pro a|nnia ei|us † The two on the back face read

respectively: † Iltu|ti | Sam|son | Re|gis | , and Sam|uel + | Ebi|sar + . The little cross prefixed to the name of the principal saint is more elaborate than the other crosses associated with the names, and the Saint's name, now imperfect, was the full Latin genitive *Iltuti* (*Arch. Camb.*, 1893, p. 327), while the others were treated as indeclinable Welsh. This I say on the supposition that the whole was meant to be read continuously; and accordingly I should scan as follows, after correcting *anmia* into *anima*, in the same way as *nin* into *inn* on the Houelt cross, p. 29:—

Sámson | pósuit | hanc || crúcem pro | án'ma é|ĩus, ||
 Iltu|ti, Sám|son || régis, Sám|uel, Ebi|sar ||

That is, "Samson set up this cross for his own soul, for that of Iltutus, of Samson the king, and of Samuel and Ebisar."

Haddan and Stubbs in their *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i, 628, date this cross in the latter half of the ninth century, and Hübner simply says "creditur esse sæculi noni."

25. LLANFIHANGEL CWM DU, NEAR CRICKHOWEL, BRECKNOCK: *see Hübner*, 35; *Westwood*, p. 55.

The stone was found in the neighbourhood, and inserted for preservation in a buttress of the church wall. The lettering is a mixture of minuscule and majuscule forms, reading:—CATACVS HIC IACIT | FILIVS TEGERNACVS: "Here lies Catoc, son of a king." The *c* is of the square kind, and the *n* approaches the form of *h* as in no. 7. The adjective *tegernacus* meant kingly or princely, and it was borrowed from Celtic in order to indicate the rank of the deceased, for which Latin may be supposed to have supplied no exact equivalent. We have it also on the

Llangwarren Stone in Pembrokeshire: see *Arch. Camb.* for 1897, pp. 324-6. The legend scans as follows:—

Cátacus | hic iá|cit || filius te"g|erná|cus ||

I am not sure as to the accentuation of the first word: if it is to be taken as accented in the Goidelic way it would be *Cátacus*, but if in the Brythonic way it would be *Catácus*. To be more accurate I should rather expect it to have been *Catócus*, and I am inclined to regard the use of *tegernacus* as probably Goidelic rather than Brythonic.

As to the date, Westwood gives no clear indication, but Hübner places the inscription in his third period, namely, the seventh and eighth centuries.

26. LLANDYSILIO, PEMBROKESHIRE: see *Hübner*, 98; *Westwood*, p. 113.

The stone is in the wall of the church, and it reads as follows:—**EVOLENȚȚH | FILH | LITOȚENI | HIC IACIT.** The *g* is of the usual Hiberno-Saxon type, the *n* has its diagonal reversed, *fi* form a ligature, and the lettering is generally somewhat rustic. The scanning is doubtful, but I suggest the following:—

Evóleng|gi fil|i || Litógen|i hic iá|cit ||

The burial place of Evoleng son of Litogen: here he lies.

Hübner places it in his second group, which seems reasonable.

27. MERTHYR MAWR, NEAR BRIDGEND: see *Hübner*, 67; *Westwood*, p. 16; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, p. 159.

This is the other cross at Merthyr Mawr, and Mr. Nicholl believes that it was brought to its present position near the

house, from the village of Merthyr Mawr. It has now been thoroughly cleaned of lichen and the reading offers no difficulties except at one point; but previous readings, including my own, have been incomplete or else incorrect in various ways. This is what I make of it now:—

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. [Co]nbellini | The <i>co</i> and the <i>p</i> at the beginning |
| 2. [p]offuit hanc | of lines 1 and 2 are gone, for the |
| 3. crucem pro | corner of the stone has been damaged |
| 4. anima eius | some time or other since Edward |
| 5. SCITLIUIFI | Llwyd saw it. The <i>ss</i> consist in |
| 6. herttade | both instances of the angular kind, |
| 7. fratris eiu | which we have also at the end of |
| 8. s·et pater | <i>fratris</i> in line 7. Line 5 consists of |
| 9. eius a me | capitals except the <i>U</i> and the <i>ss</i> . |
| 10. prepara | <i>Sciloc</i> is also made up of capitals |
| 11. tus ❖ SCILOC | carefully cut with an oval <i>o</i> standing |

in the bosom of the *L*. The cross curves before *Sciloc* constitute a form probably of the contraction standing for *est* in Latin. The letter at the end of line 9 looks as if meant to be *æ*, and the *a* at the end of line 10 has its heels unduly prolonged to fill the space, and there is a little notch attached to the upper one which almost makes it into *at*. Some of the *r*'s are good capitals, while the others are of the usual debased kind. Several of the letters are damaged by cracks and other imperfections in the surface of the stone: this is the case with the two last letters but one of line 6: the first of the two looks like an imperfect *a*—it is possibly an *e*. The letter following looks like a clumsy *D*, almost square in form, and with its perpendicular coinciding with a crack which extends above and below and covers the perpendicular of the angular *s* of *fratris* in the next line below: unfortunately this inscription offers us no other *d* for comparison.

As regards the metre the cross line divides the epitaph

into two portions, consisting of a pentameter and a half each, thus:—

Conbelli | ni póssu | it || hanc erúcem | pro áni | ma ||
 éius Scít | livís | si ||

Hérttade | frátris éi | us || et páter | éius a | mé ||
 prepará | tus est Scí | loc ||

Conbelline this cross erected
 For the soul of his spy,
 Even Herttaid his brother; and his *pater*
 Was prepared by me Scíloc.

Conbellini, or as it might be rather expected, *Conbelline*, would seem to be an Irish derivative from some such a shorter name as *Cinval*, *Cinfall*, or *Cynfall*, which occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* in the place-names Merthir Cynfall, Ecclesia Cinfall and Cirn Cinfall; or else it should be regarded as standing for an early *Cunobelinos*, derived from the name of the king Cunobelinos: this seems preferable. *Scíllivissi* is the genitive of a compound which might be represented as *sceddlivisse*, meaning ‘one who has knowledge of news’—an emissary, informer, scout or spy. I have used the word emissary as specially in point, for the Latin *emissarius* was made into Ebissar, which occurs on three different stones in the district as a man’s name. It was treated, doubtless, as the Latin equivalent of *Sceddlivisse*, which was probably also used as a proper name, in fact the one of which *Scíloc* (for a fuller form *Scedlóc*) was the hypocoristic form: for more about these words the reader may be referred to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 161. Of the name Herttade I can make nothing; it seems to be the genitive of some such a form as *Erttaid*, especially if the correct reading could be established as Herttede, and Erttaid or Ertid one might venture perhaps to equate with the man’s name *Erdit*, which occurs in Stoke’s edition of *Patrick*, pp. 192, 349. The Latin *pater* has become in Welsh *pader* and *y pader*

means the *paternoster* or the Lord's prayer, in Irish *paidir* ; but what can *pater* mean in this connection ? On asking my theological friends this question I have had several answers suggested, among others the two following :—(a) The saying of Mass for the Dead was meant, and the term *pater* may have been used by reason of the place given to the paternoster in the Mass. (b) There was an office of “*præparatio ad missam*” in which the paternoster was said by the priest when he prepared himself for saying Mass. As neither of these answers seems quite conclusive, I venture to quote from Haddan and Stubbs, i, 697, an ancient formula for the Benediction of Alms for the Dead, which is also somewhat to the point. They regard it as belonging to Cornwall, and cite it as follows :—“*Creator et Sanctificator elementorum, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, Qui es vera Trinitas et Unitas, precamur Te, Domine clementissime Pater, ut elemosina ista fiat in misericordia Tua, ut accepta sit cibū istū (sic) pro anima famuli Tui iſt: ut sit benedictio Tua super omnia dona ista.*” This, it is hoped, will suffice to indicate sufficiently the direction in which to look for light on one of the most interesting inscriptions in Wales. As to the man *Scīlōc*, I infer that he belonged to the same family as *Conbellini* and his brother, and also that he was a priest ; are we also to suppose him to have made the cross and carved the inscription, or that he merely composed the latter, and handed it over to a workman to be cut on the stone ?

Hübner gives no guess as to the date, but Westwood, while abstaining from giving any view of his own, cites the late Dr. Petrie as having suggested the year 600 or thereabouts : I should be inclined to say later, but some time, perhaps, in the seventh century.

28. LLANLLYR, IN THE VALE OF AERON, IN CARDIGANSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 124; *Westwood*, p. 135; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, p. 120.

Hübner and Westwood are hopelessly wrong in their readings, and my division of the words in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is also erroneous, as I am now inclined to think. The writing runs down the stone parallel to the shaft of a cross, the top of which is formed into a circle: unfortunately rather more than one half of the stone, and of the cross too, has been split off and lost. But it is possible that the cross was fashioned at the top into a monogram of Christ: the rest reads thus, in the Hiberno-Saxon type of Brythonic letters:—

tesquitus ditoc
madomnuaco
ccon filius asa
itgen dedit

This I would treat as also consisting of three half pentameters and scan as follows:—

Tesquit|us Dít|oc ||
Madómnu | ac Óc|con || filius Ás|aitgen déd|it.

The usual incidence of the accent in Latin pentameters suggests *Asáitgen* rather than *Asaitgen*: compare, however, the latter half of such a line as this in Ovid's *Tristia*, "Dissiluit nudo pressa bis uva pede", where *bis* must have had a decided accent. The epitaph may be translated thus:—"Ditoc's plot of ground: MoDomnu and Oecon son of Asaitgén gave it to him." It means that Ditoc was buried in the *tesquitus*—one might have expected it to be written *tesquittum*—or else that he had arranged to be buried there when the time came; and he attached evident importance to his title to the spot which was to be his *locus resurrectionis*. There was an Irish name Occán or Océan, genitive Océin, with which our Oecon is probably to

be identified: see the *Book of Leinster*, 322^f, and the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1103, 1598. The name Asaitgen, genitive *Asaitgin*, I have not met with anywhere else, and the same remark applies to *Ditoc* unless we have it in *Llan Dydoch*, the Welsh name of St. Dogmel's on the Teifi. As to Madomnu, he is very possibly to be identified with Modomnoc, one of the pupils of St. David. In any case it looks as if the ground belonged to Ocon, and that the presiding Saint Madomnu was invited to sanction the transaction. The prefix *ma* (unaccented) more usually *mo* 'my', marks *Madomnu* out as a cleric to whom respect was considered to be due. It is, however, not known that Modomnóc had anything to do with the church of Llanllyr, which suggests that he could only have been there for a comparatively short time. For what is known of him see the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 133, 134, and Stokes's *Gorman*, Feb. 13 and May 18. His full name was Domon-gen, and in Ireland he was associated with a place called Tipra Fachtua, in the west of Ossory. In any case it is not impossible that the inscription dates about the beginning of the seventh century.

29. ABERCAR, BETWEEN MERTHYR TYDFIL AND BRECON: see *Hübner*, 52; *Westwood*, p. 64; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1885, p. 341.

The stone was a long while ago built into the wall of a farm building and broken into three pieces, one of which is missing. The other two were extracted from the wall and taken to his house at Merthyr by Dr. Wilkins, of the Post Office, and there I had an opportunity of examining the lettering. This is all I could make out with certainty:

. . . NICCI FILIVS | . . . IC IACIT FECVRI IN HOC TVMVLO.

Before NICCI there were traces of another letter, parts of

a or *n*, perhaps the latter part of an *m*, or a portion of a letter followed perhaps by an *i*. The spelling of *hoc* suggests that the adverb was written *hic*, but there is no probability that *h* is the only letter gone at the beginning of the second line. This forms a difficulty in the way of restoring the epitaph in the manner which suggests itself at the first glance, namely, by supposing it to have begun, let us say, as *Maglus Annicci filius hic iacit*, &c. So I conjecture it to have done so with some such a formula as *Tesquitus Annicci* or *Locus Belinici* and to have proceeded with *Filius eius hic iacit*, &c., the person buried being in that case presumably an infant whose own name was not given. The scanning of the latter set of words (with *securi* treated as standing for *secure*) would be as in the two previous epitaphs, as follows, in half pentameters :

Locus Bel|inic|ci ||
Filius é|ius hic iác|it || securi in | hoc túmu|lo ||

The burial place of Beliniccus :
His son lies here secure in this barrow.

Hübner places this inscription in his second group.

30. CALDEY ISLAND, OPPOSITE TENBY, PEMBROKESHIRE : see *Hübner*, 94 ; *Westwood*, p. 107 ; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, pp. 98 *et seq.*

The stone, which is at the Church, has on its edges traces of an Ogam inscription, suggesting the name Magli[a] Dubr[acunas], the genitive of a form of the name which is met with in MSS. as Mael-Doborchon 'the Slave of Doborchú'. The other inscription is in a mixture of minuscule and uncial letters surmounted by a cross, and reads as follows :—

& singno cr|ucis in illam | fingsi rogo | omnibus am|mulantibus |
ibi exorent | pro anima | catuoconi.

This consists of an accentual hexameter with a half

pentameter following it, and a truncated hexameter preceding it. Put into the ordinary orthography the scanning may be represented thus :—

Et sígno | crúcis | in íllam | fínxi |
 Rógo | ómnibus | ambu|lántibus | íbi ex|órent |
 Pro án'ma | Catgóco|ni||

And with the sign of the cross have I fashioned it :
 I ask all men who here may stroll
 A prayer to say for Cadógan's soul.

The importance of the combination of the hexameter and the half pentameter will appear later ; for the present let it suffice that it should be referred to its quantitative model in Horace's *Ode*, iv, 7, opening with the lines—

“ Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
 Arboribusque comæ.”

The spellings *signo*, *fingsi* and *ammulantibus* appear to be phonetic. The name Catuocon is that of a Brython, now written in Welsh *Cadwgan* ; and it retains its penultimate accent even in its English spelling of *Cadogan* to this day. The inscriber seems to have been aware that there was another inscription on the stone, and that is the explanation of his beginning with *et*.

Hübner appears to acquiesce in ascribing it to the end of the ninth century ; but Westwood, while not believing it to be more recent than the ninth, was willing to admit that it might be as old as the seventh : that seems to me to be nearer the mark.

iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 1.

31. ST. COLUMB MINOR, CORNWALL : see *Hübner*, 13.

The stone reads :—BONEMIMORH | FILLH TRIBVNH that is, “the burial place of Bonememorius son of Tribunus”,

or perhaps “of the Tribune”. Bonememorius, with a slight difference of spelling, occurs elsewhere, to wit in epitaphs in Southern Gaul: see the *C. I. L.*, xij, p. 964. Whether it is meant here as the deceased’s proper name, however, is not quite clear. If not, one would have to translate “of Tribunus’s son of blessed memory,” or to that effect, provided one at least of the words in the epitaph be treated as a proper name. It is interesting to notice that the *l̃* of *fil̃i* had been assimilated here into the *ll* of *filli*. The metre is practically a truncated hexameter, or to give it a more technical name, a dactylic tetrameter, of which lines will be found in Horace’s *Odes*, i, 7 and 28, also *Epode*, 12, the scheme is $\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{v}}|\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{v}}|\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{v}}|-\text{v}$, so the epitaph scans like “Certus enim promisit Apollo”, as follows:—

Bone|mímori | filli Tri|búni.

Hübner places this in his earliest class, and I see no objection to urge against his guess.

32. LLANFAGLAN, NEAR CARNARVON: see Hübner, 147; Westwood, p. 174.

The stone reads:—FILI LOVERNII | ANATEMORI. The letters are contained within a sort of groove or moulding enclosing an oblong, and the metre, which is the same as in the previous instance, explains why the deceased’s name comes last, for one has to translate “the burial place of Anatemor son of Loverne”. The scanning is as follows:—

Fili | Lóvernii | Aⁿate|móri.

The language of the author of the epitaph was probably Goidelic; had it been Brythonic we should presumably have not *Anate-mori* but *Anatio-mori*, which would be in Welsh *eneid-fawr* ‘great-souled, μεγαλό-ψυχος’.

Hübner reads the epitaph upwards, *Anatemori Fili*

Lovernii, but there is no warrant for treating this carefully inscribed stone in that way, nor is there any very evident reason for his placing the epitaph in his second rather than his first group; the spelling with *ii* for *i* seems to me to form an argument for its antiquity, as that combination very rarely occurs.

33. BUCKLAND MONACHORUM, DEVONSHIRE: *see Hübner, 25.*

The stone is now in the Priory grounds at Tavistock, and shows traces of an Ogam inscription; but the Latin is complete and reads DOBVNNH | FABRI FILI | ENABARRI, where I take the syllables ending with the double consonants to have been meant to bear the stress accent. They suggest that the author of the epitaph's own language was Brythonic. The metre is the same as before, and the scanning is as follows:—

Dobúnni | fá Bri | filí Ena|bá rri

The burial place of Dobunnos the smith, son of Enabarr.

The rhythm is like that of the last line of *Ode i, 7*: “Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.” The man's name may have been not Dobunmus but Dobunnus Faber, and the former vocable reminds one of the people called Dobunni, whom Ptolemy seems to have placed in the present county of Gloucester, where Cirencester belonged to them. In Enabarrri, the first element is of doubtful meaning, but *barr-* meant head or top: compare No. 8, p. 21 above.

Hübner places the epitaph in his first period.

34. WORTHYVALE, NEAR CAMELFORD, CORNWALL: *see Hübner, 17*; “*Rhys's Lectures*”, p. 402.

The Roman writing is legible with the exception of two letters as follows: LATINI IC IACIT | FILIUſ MA . . . ARI.

The second *ci* are joined together, the second *i* in *filius* is joined to the foot of the *l*, for the next letter we seem to have *u* rather than *v*, and the *s* is of the gamma shape. The *m* is of the uncial kind, and after *ma* comes a difficulty; at first sight the consonant might be taken to be a *g* or a *c*, but the lower portion of it is complicated by small hollows in the stone, and the top looks more like that of an *f*. This is followed by an *a* which has a nearly perpendicular line joining (from above) the beginning of that letter. If the juncture is accidental, one would read *ia*, but it is more probable that a ligature was intended for **VA** or **HA**. After *ari* there is a longish horizontal groove, which seems, however, to form no part of the inscription; but on the edge to the right there is the end of an Ogam legend, which reads *ni*, probably the end of the genitive *Latini*. It is difficult to choose from among the possibilities of the reading of the other name, such as *Macuari*, *Mafuari*, *Magiari*, *Macnari* or *Magnari*. If one takes the last mentioned, the metre will be that of the Dobunni epitaph: *Latínī ic | iácit | fílius Mac|nári*, which may be rendered "the burial place of Latinus: here lies Macnár's son". *Macuari* if treated as *Macuari*, would comport itself, as far as the metre is concerned, in the same way as *Macnari*. But the other alternatives suggest another metre, namely the Iambic trimeter catalectic, and the scanning would be as follows:—

Latín|ī ic iác|it fil|ius Ma|fuár|i.

The rhythm is one of the commonest in *Odes*, i, 4, and ii, 18: take for instance line 8 in the former *Ode*: "*Volcanus ardens urit officinas*". *Mafuari* suggests analysis into an Irish name *Ma-Fuari*, but the accentuation *Ma-Fuári* stands in the way, not to mention the obscurity surrounding all the names here suggested. The only one which is transparent is *Macnari*, which would seem to resolve itself

into Mac-Nari, that is to say Mac Náir in Irish, which is met with in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 369^c, where the name occurs of a Soran *m. Nair*. The scanning accordingly would be :—

Latín| ic | iácit | filius Mac|nári.

The burial place of Latinus : here lies Náir's son.

Hübner places this among the inscriptions of his second period ; but for the Ogam I should have been inclined to conjecture his third period.

35. LLANDEILO LLWYDARTH, PEMBROKESHIRE : see the "*Arch. Camb.*", 1889, p. 307 ; 1893, p. 286 ; 1896, p. 300.

The stone reads in Roman letters **ANDAQELLH IACIT | FILI CAVETH**, which seems to mean "Here lies the body of Andagell, son of Cavet", though one has, it must be confessed, no explicit warrant in any of our epitaphs for introducing the word *Corpus* or any of its equivalents into our inscriptions. This is accompanied by a legend in Ogam writing, which contains the Latin genitive *Cavi* apparently as the equivalent of *Caveti* : compare *Burgocavi*, p. 14 above. The scanning would seem to have been as follows :—

Andágel|li iácit | fili Ca|vétí.

The inscription is the oldest probably of the Llwydarth group, and I suggest, as a guess, the sixth century.

36. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE : see *Hübner*, 77 ; *Westwood*, p. 38.

The stone is an old Roman milestone, brought to Margam from Port Talbot, and the later inscription is on the back of it, reading as follows in one line :—

HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVLINVS

It scans exactly like the two previous instances :—

Hic iácit | Cantúsus | páter Paul|ínus.

Apparently it means, "Here lies Cantusus, his father was Paulinus"; but possibly the last two words mean that his father Paulinus had the inscription cut and the stone set up; but the other view is perhaps to be preferred: compare No. 14, p. 34. The name Cantusus does not look Goidelic, so I have treated it as Brythonic, accented on the penultimate.

Westwood speaks of this epitaph as being "evidently of a somewhat more recent date" than the Roman military inscription on the front of the stone, which he connected with the second Severus; but Hübner seems more reasonable in placing it in his second group.

37. PATRISHOW, NEAR CRICKHOWELL, BRECKNOCK: see *Hübner*, 33; *Westwood*, p. 71.

The inscription is on a font, and reads in minuscules "Menhir me fecit in tempore Genillin", "Menhir made me in the time of Genillin", which seems to be in the same metre as before. So the scanning is probably the following:—

Ménhir me | fécit in | témp're Gen|illin.

The movement accordingly is the same as that of lines 32 and 34 of *Ode* i, 28; "Debita iura vicesque superbae" and "Teque piacula nulla resolvent". But it would also fit into the scheme of the Iambic trimeter catalectic, which occurs in *Odes*, i, 4, and ii, 18; take for instance the second line of the latter Ode, "Mea renidet in domo lacunar". Neither metre, however, would help to decide as to the name *Menhir*, whether it was accented Menhír, or Ménhir, which I have here assumed to be the case; but for the *h* one would have had no hesitation in accepting the latter, according to the general rule in Welsh.

The name is unfortunately obscure, but Westwood treats

the font as coeval with the church, which he dates from the year 1060. This agrees with the fact that a Genillin, son of Rhys Goch, was in the middle of the 11th century prince of Powys and lord of Ystrad Yw, in which Patrishow is situated.

38. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE: *see Hübner, 74; Westwood, p. 25; "Arch. Camb.," 1899, p. 142.*

This fragment of a cross reads in minuscules as follows:—*inomi|ne di f | umi | crux crizdi | prop|arabit | grutne | pro anma | ahest.* As regards the lettering, I have to remark that the *z* has usually been misread *t*, but I am not sure that the inscriber did not consider it an *s*, that is to say an angulated *s* reversed. Then as to the spelling, we have in *proparabit* a *b* used with the Late Latin value of *v*—the inscriber meant probably *preparavit*—and he intended the word to be scanned *prop'rauit*: compare Houelt's cross, p. 29. *Inomine* represents the pronunciation he gave in *nomine*, and *anma* is instructive as the shortening of *anima*: *see* p. 30. With regard to *di*, I take that to be an abbreviation for *dei* or *dī* as it is also found written: *see* pp. 29, 35. The reading *Anest*, that is *Anést*, has to be given up in favour of *Ahest*, that is *Ahest*, which fits the metre better. The scanning seems to be as follows:—

In nómin|e déi | súmmi crúx | Chrísti |
Prop'rávit | Grútne | pro ánma | Áhest |

In the name of God the Highest the Cross of Christ :
Grutne has prepared it for the soul of Aches.

The hiatus between *anma* and *Ahest* is remarkable; but even if one should prefer treating it (in spite of the jostling of accents) as *ánm' Ahest*, it would presumably come under a form of this metre, as will be seen when we come to the instances in Group 3. It is right to add that it

would be possible, perhaps, to treat this and the next two or three epigraphs as instances of the metre called Iambic trimeter catalectic, but on the whole it seems more probable that they are to be regarded as based simply on a scheme of truncated hexameter.

The name *Ahest* occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* as *Aches*, pp. 32, 44, where a place is mentioned called Tref Bledgur mab Aches; and p. 277, where there is a mention of a certain *Audi filium Achess* as a priest ordained for a church called *Lannguern*, supposed to be Llanwerne in Herefordshire. Now one of the meanings of *aches* as a common noun is that of the muse of poetry, and it reminds me of the Irish verb *adciam* or *adchiam*, 'I see', which has as its preterite passive an old participle *adchess*, 'was seen', plural *atchessa*, with the enclitic form *accas*, 'visum est'. With the latter is connected the word *éces* or *éices*, genitive *éicis*, 'a sage', more literally doubtless 'a seer or one who has visions': the Welsh *Mab Aches* is the equivalent of the Irish name *Mac ind Éicis* (*Book of Leinster*, 363^c, 373^b), 'Son of the Sage'. These forms, *atchess*, *accas*, *éces*, come from earlier ones with the stem *ad-ques-ta-* or *ate-ques-ta-*, and the Welsh word was borrowed probably after *qu* had been reduced to *c* in Goidelic, and the thematic vowel dropped. Then as to this inscription, it must have been written before *st* was made into *ss*, *s*; that is to say, probably before the eighth century, and before Goidelic had ceased to be spoken in Glamorgan. As to the confusion of the synonymous prefixes *ad* and *ate*, see Zimmer's *Keltische Studien*, ii, 70: the form postulated by Welsh *aches* is *ath-chest* or *ath-chess*; for it is hard to say whether it had been reduced in pronunciation to *achess* or not before it was adopted in Welsh. We have a parallel instance in *Caffo* in *Llangaffo*, the name of a church in Anglesey, already mentioned. *Caffo* represents here, probably, a

form of the Irish name *Cathboth* or *Cathbad* (genitive), with the *b* pronounced successively *v* and *f*, or else Irish *Cathmug*, genitive *Cathmoga*: compare the Mayo place-name *Breaſſy*, the modern continuator of *Breachmag*, a name occurring also in Wales, where it is sounded *Brechfa*, in Carmarthen-shire. As to the former see Miss Stokes's *Irish Christian Inscriptions*, ii, 46. The Welsh cognates of *aches* are to be found in the *paith* of *gobaith* 'hope', and the *pys* of *hy-s-bys* as in *gwr hysbys* 'a wise man in the sense of sorcerer or wizard'.

Westwood dates the cross and the inscription in the eighth or ninth century; but I should be inclined to put it back towards the end of the seventh century, for reasons already suggested, to which I may add, as having some weight in the scale, the fact of our having here an *h* used for *ch*: compare *Brohomagli* in No. 5, p. 15. It is impossible, however, to sever it much from the Houelt cross, for which accordingly the ninth century would be too late.

39. MENABILI, NEAR FOWEY, IN CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 20.

The stone offers great difficulties owing to the bad state of preservation of the inscription; but I have examined it more than once, and I think I am right in giving the latter as **DRVSTAGNI IC IACIT | CVNOMORI FILIVS**, "the burial place of Drystan: here lies Cynvor's son". The *d* is reversed, the first *n* has its diagonal the wrong way, and the *m* is upside down looking like a *w*. The scanning seems to be the following:—

Drustágnī ic | iácit Cun|ómori | filiūs.

Hübner, who had only a very bad copy of this epitaph, placed it in his second group: I am not sure whether it should not be considered somewhat earlier.

40. MAES LLANWRTHWL, NEAR DOLAU COTHI, CARMARTHENSHIRE:
 see *Hübner*, 83; *Westwood*, p. 81; and *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 391,
 where their reading is corrected.

The stone was found with the Paulinus monument, mentioned at p. 2 above; and it is housed with it at the residence of the Johnes family at Dolau Cothi. The ends of the lines are gone, but there is good evidence that, when complete, the epitaph read: TALORH | ADVENTH | MAQVERIGH | FILIVS. Let us take the metre first: now as *Maquerīgi* is etymologically not Brythonic, one may probably rule out the accentuation *Maquerīgi*. In the next place, though the apparent number of syllables would suggest the Senarius, and though it could be treated as an instance of the Iambic trimeter catalectic, it is more probable that the scanning is the following:—

Talorī Ad|vénti Ma|querīgi | filīus.

Now as to the translation of the epitaph, Talori and Maquerigi imply nominatives which would have been written in Latin *Talorius* or *Talorus*, and *Maquerigius* or *Maquerigus*: I give the preference to the adjectival forms in both names. The number of ways in which the epitaph may be construed is embarrassing, the following are some of them: 1. Take the names to belong to a single individual and it will then mean "Talorius Adventus Maquerigius's son". The objection to this is that while it gives the father three names, it leaves the son without one at all, in spite of its being the latter's monument. 2. Suppose *Talori* to be a nominative for an earlier and fuller form *Talori-s* or *Talo-ris*, and the uncertainty as to the construction disappears; but I have failed to discover any trace of such a name. 3. *Adventus* is not an uncommon cognomen in the *Corpus* (v 436, vij 187, 440, 1003, xij 813), but I have not come across it there as the *nomen* or name of anybody; so if we follow that cue we might treat the son's

name as Talorius Adventus, and the father's as Maquerigius; but this last looks less like a name than a surname or epithet to follow a name. 4. Discard the Roman distinction, as one has often to do, as between *nomen* and *cognomen*, and treat Talorius as the son's name, leaving for the father the suggestive one of Adventus Maquerigius. This also is liable to objections, but on the whole they are perhaps less serious than those in the other cases, and I translate accordingly:—"The burial place of Talorius, son of Adventus Maquerigius"; or if it is thought preferable: "This is the burial place of Talorius: he was son of Adventus Maquerigius". That is, however, unnecessary, as the analogy of other Celtic inscriptions make it by no means obligatory that the apposition should be in the genitive case: it may pass into the nominative, as I suppose here in the case of *filius*. A word now as to the Celtic names on this stone: *Maquerigi* at first sight suggests a compound of some kind, with the Goidelic word whose genitive meets us so often as *maqui* 'son or boy', but the form this takes in other inscriptions in the Latin language is *mac(c)u* or *mac(c)o* indeclinable, as for instance in *Maccu-Decceti* and *Maccu-Treni*, both nominative, and *Macco-Decheti* and *Macu-Treni*, both genitive. What, then, is *maque* in *Maquerigi*? I can make nothing of it but the genitive of *maqua* 'daughter', a word of rare occurrence in early Goidelic inscriptions, owing, for one thing, doubtless to the fact that they seldom condescend to commemorate women at all. But the two following instances are beyond doubt: "Tria maqua Mailagni", 'Tria daughter of Mailán', found at Ballintaggart in Kerry, and "Muddossa maqua At", 'Muddossa daughter of A.', from Knockrour in the same county, and now housed here in the Pitt-Rivers Museum. *Maque* would be the genitive of *maqua*; if, however, it is preferred to regard *maque* as merely

equivalent to the *Maccu* of *Maccu-Decceti*, we should have in *Maquerigi* a reference to a king's son rather than a king's daughter, in which case *Maquerigius* might perhaps be treated as merely meaning 'of royal descent, or, of the rank of a king's son', a term to be construed somewhat in the same way as *tegernacus*, 'of the rank of a *tigerne*', for instance on the Catacus Stone mentioned at p. 49. But it looks more probable that *Maquerigius* was an epithet or surname based on some such a Goidelic description as *ver maquē rīgas*, that is '*vir filiae regis*, or king's daughter's husband, or more probably *maqu maquē rīgas*, 'filius filiae regis, or king's daughter's son', in any case the condensed history of an adventurer who was possibly called *Adventus* by reason of his coming as a stranger from another state. Presumably, unable to name his father, the only account he could give of his descent was that he was son of a king's daughter, a fact which would naturally exercise those who gave him hospitality in Dyfed, and result in their inventing for him the epithet underlying *Maquerigi*. This would unmistakably imply that he came from the Pictland of the North, and the conjecture is to some extent countenanced by the name of his son, as we shall see. *Talorius* is to be compared with Talargan, Tal Aryant, later Talarian, supposed to mean 'Silver-browed, or having a silver forehead', and Talhaearn 'Him of the iron brow'. Following these parallels we are led to *Tal-aur* or *Tal-aurin* 'golden-browed', but no such name is recorded in Welsh as far as I know. The Latin *aurum* 'gold' was borrowed into Welsh as *our*, later *eur* and *aur* 'gold', but in Irish it became *ōr* (genitive *ōir*), and this or rather the adjective *aureus* 'golden' as *ōre*, genitive *ōri*, is in fact what we have in *Tal-ōri*. Here we have therefore a distinctly Goidelic name, and it appears elsewhere borrowed by the Picts of the North, whose

chronicles show such names as Talore, Talorc, Talorg, Talargan, Talorcan, Tolarcan, and other forms in utter confusion, as anyone may satisfy himself by a glance at Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Whether the MSS. are not too unreliable to enable one to make out which name belonged to which man in question I cannot say; but the identification of the name *Talore*, genitive *Talori*, suggests one of the distinctions to be made; for *Talore* occurs too often and too persistently to be a mere error: possibly some of the instances of *Talorc* are to be treated as misreadings of *Talore*. On the other hand, the trisyllabic forms, such as Talargan, Talorcen and the like, represent the Brythonic *Tal-argant*, which, when the *t* was disposed of, would sound to a Pict like a genitive, so he readily provided it with a quasi nominative Talarg, Talorg, or Talorc and the like: these are the lines on which the Pictish name is to be sorted, and so far as I can see they present no instance of *Talhaearn* or *Taliessin*, though anything is possible in the case of names so carelessly written. *Vice versa* the Pictish *Talore* confirms my treatment of *Talori* as the genitive of *Talōrius*. Goidelic *Talōre*. I may add that we appear to have a partially kindred name in the feminine *Oria*, in case it comes from the Latin name *Aurius*, at Penmachno in Carnarvonshire (*Hübner*, 137; *Westwood*, p. 175). The absence otherwise of the name Talorius or Talore in Wales and its use among the Picts seems to suggest that the father of Talorius was an exile or adventurer from the North, who was kindly received in South Wales, and lastly that his son was called by a name common presumably in his father's family.

Hübner places this epitaph among those of his second period, by which he meant the sixth and seventh centuries.

41. Other epitaphs written in the same metre seem to be the following, which I abstain from discussing one by one :—

Advecti filius Guani hic iacit. *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, pp. 180-2.

Avitoria filia Cunigni. *Arch. Camb.*, 1889, pp. 1-4, 96, 224; 1893, p. 285.

Camelorigi fili Fannuci. *Hübner*, 95.

Dis Manibus Barrecti Carantei. *Westwood*, p. 157, pl. 78.

XPI Vailathi fili Vrochani. *H.*, 21.

Macaritini fili Beri : ci. *H.*, 80.

Maccu-Treni Saliciduni. *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 382.

Mavoh[eni] fili Lunarchi Cocci. *H.*, 233.

Quenatauci ic Dinui filius. *H.*, 3.

Quenvendani fili Barcuni. *H.*, 91.

Rialobrani Cunovali fili. *H.*, 2.

Rugniatio fili Vendoni. *H.*, 49; *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 381.

Severini fili Severi. *H.*, 87.

Vennisetli fili Ercagni. *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 392.

iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 2.

42. DYFFRYN BERN, NEAR PEMBRYN IN SOUTH CARDIGANSHIRE :
see Hübner, 115; *Westwood*, p. 146.

The stone reads CORBALENÇI IACIT ORDOVS, "here Corbaleng the Ordovician lies". The metre is probably the same that we have already had, and the scanning would seem at first sight to be Córba|le"ngi | iácit Or | dóus, but neither *Ode* i, 7, i, 28, nor *Epode* 12, has a line which corresponds. The only other possibility is

Corbá|lengi | iácit Or|dóus,

which suggests a trisyllabic scheme :—

Corbáleng|i iácit | Ordóus.

This is practically to treat it as belonging to a distinct metre, but the accentuation is exactly that of lines 4 and 24 in the former *Ode*, and of the last line of the latter *Ode*—"Injecto ter pulvere curras". I take Corbalengi to stand for a nominative *Corbalengi-s*, for which we have the analogy of Irish *Dūnlaing* or *Dūnling* 'Dowling', genitive *Dūnlinge* (also *Dūnlangi*, later declension *Dūnlang*, genitive *Dūnlaing*): see Stoke's *Patrick*, pp. 184, 308, 331, 342, 466. As to the hiatus in *Ordous* compare *Daari* and *Puani* mentioned under No. 55. One would have expected *Ordovix* or *Ordoix*.

The letters are all capitals, and Hübner places the inscription among those of his first period: Westwood's opinion points to a similar conclusion.

43. LLANHAMLACH, NEAR BRECON: see *Hübner*, 44; *Westwood*, p. 69, pl. 38; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1874, p. 332.

On the face of the stone appears a Latin cross with figures, supposed by Westwood to represent the Virgin Mary and St. John standing beneath the arms of the cross, and on one edge of the stone is the inscription:—*Iohannis* || *moridic surrexit hunc lapidem*. The first word is separated from the rest by a groove, and the whole may probably be rendered "The Cross of John: Moridic set up this stone". Needless to say, *surrexit* ought to have been *erexit*, as on the Llangaffo stone, p. 22, and probably *lapidem* was also meant to be shortened in pronunciation in the way suggested in the case of the latter. The scanning might be that of the metre called *Senarius*, provided *Iohannis* were treated as a trisyllable; or else that of a truncated hexameter if that vocable retained its greater length, as follows:—*Iō|hánnis: Mor|ídic sur|réxit hunc | láp'dem*. But on the whole I am disposed to follow the division

indicated by the inscriber, and to read in two lines, thus:—

Crux Iohannis :
Morídic | surréxit | hunc láp'dem.

In that case the verse has exactly the rhythm guessed in the case of the Corbalengi epitaph.

Westwood describes the letters on this stone as being of an early character, resembling those generally termed Anglo-Saxon uncials and minuscules, “and as indicating a date prior to the introduction of the Gothic angulated letters by the Normans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries”. Perhaps one may assign the inscription to the ninth century or even the eighth.

44. NEVERN CHURCHYARD, PEMBROKESHIRE : see *Hübner*, 102 ; *Westwood*, p. 103.

The stone was originally in the churchyard, whence it was taken away to be a gate-post on a farm in the neighbourhood, where it was discovered by me, and whence it has been since restored to the churchyard. The left-hand angle bears *Vitaliani* in a clear Ogam, and on the face of the stone—written across it *more Romano*, contrary to what Hübner thought—is the following:—**VITALIANI EMERETO**. The *n* is reversed, and *al* form a ligature : on the whole the letters are tall and more than usually good for this kind of epitaph. *Vitalianus* does not appear to have been a very common name, but it will be found in De Rossi's Vol. i, No. 1038, and it appears in its Old Welsh form as the *Guitolion* underlying the manuscript readings of Nennius, *Guitolin*, *Guitholim*, *Guttolion*, *Guitholion*, in the genealogy of Fernmail : see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 49 (p. 193), where we have Vortigern represented as son of *Guitaul*, son of *Guitolion*, names which

would be in Latin, *Vitalis* or *Vitalius*, and *Vitalianus* respectively.¹

If this masterpiece of condensation was meant as verse, as I am inclined to think it was, it might be scanned Vitali|áni e|méreto, and interpreted as meaning "the monument of Vitalianus, given to him as *emeritus*", one who has deserved it, one who has died having completed his service. It refers probably to his military career and his services to his people, though it admits of being interpreted metaphorically in a religious sense. It might be treated as *Vitaliani e mereto*, but that appears to me less probable as being somewhat too classical.

Hübner has placed it in his first class, and if any of our inscriptions date before the close of the fourth century

¹ Doubtless Guitolin was a kindred name current probably in the same family and representing a Latin *Vitalinus*, which appears in a Corkaguiny Ogam (Journal of the Royal Society of Irish Antiquaries, 1902, pp. 36, 37) as *Vitalin*, later *Fidlin*. It figures in an unexplained passage in the Nennian *Historia Brittonum*: see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iij, p. 203, where one reads:—"Et a regno Guorthigirni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii anni sunt duodecim, quod est Guoloppum, id est Catguoloph". It should be rendered—"And from the reign of Vortigern to the quarrel of Guitolin and Ambrosius there is a space of twelve years, which is empty, that is, empty of war". The scribe responsible for the Latin came to a Brythonic adjective which he did not understand: it proves to have been *guolom*, pronounced *guolor*, the exact equivalent of Med. Irish *fulam* (not *follom*), Mod. Irish *folamh*, Sc. Gaelic *falamh* 'empty': compare Welsh *gweili*, 'empty', Breton *goullô*, *gulin*. The antiquity of the gloss is suggested also by the use of *pp* as equivalent to *ph*, which is here inexactly used for *v*. The historical interest of the passage as shedding light on the ubiquitous presence of the Déisi on our coasts, not only from Waterford to St. David's, but possibly from Kerry to Kent, raises questions too large to be discussed in a note: compare the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, i, 56; note also that it is in Fernmail's pedigree one meets with *Mepurit* mentioned at p. 25 above. In spite of the Latin and Brythonic appearance of that pedigree, it may be taken to have been fundamentally Goidelic.

this is likely to be one of them. In fact, I see no reason why it should not prove to be the epitaph of Vortigern's grandfather, presumably a prince of the Dési of Dyfed.

45. The following inscriptions appear to be in a similar form of curtailed hexameter:—

Sagrani fili Cunotami. *H.*, 106.

Veracius presbyter hic iacit. *H.*, 145.

Curcagni fili Andagelli. *W.*, p. 86; *Arch. Camb.*, 1876,
p. 141; 1894, p. 81; 1896, p. 134.

Doniert rogavit pro anima. *H.*, 22.

iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 3.

46. YSTRADFELLTE, BRECKNOCK: see *Hübner*, p. 50; *Westwood*, p. 65.

The stone reads in very debased capitals, **DERVACH FILIVS IVSTH IC IACIT** “the burial place of Dervac: here lies the son of Justus.” The lettering is very queer, for not only are *d* and *s* reversed, but *a* and *t* are upside down; *fi* make the usual ligature. The inscription, in spite of any possible doubt as between *Dervaci* and *Derváci*, the former of which is probably to be preferred, as the Brythonic form might be expected to have been *Dervóci*, seems to scan as follows:—

Dervaci | filius | Jústī ic iácit.

That is, I take it to end with two dissyllabic feet, and one might compare Horace's *Ode* i, 28, line 2—“Mensorem cohibent, Archyta”; but that line is itself somewhat exceptional, and as the metre was perhaps never very

common, it seems preferable to regard our line as a truncated hexameter, but consisting of that part which represents the first four feet. The choice of feet, however, which that would imply is subject to one limitation—the verse must have at least one dactylic foot; and it is needless to mention that, if it ends with a dactyl followed by a dissyllabic foot, it is treated as belonging, not here but to one or other of the two groups of which specimens have already been given.

Hübner places this epigraph in his third group, that is to say in the seventh or the eighth century: I should be inclined to say that this dates from the former, let us say the close of the seventh century.

47. MARGAM, GLAMORGAN: see *Hübner*, 73; *Westwood*, p. 29.

The stone reads:—Crux. $\overline{\text{XPI.}}$ | + Enniaun. | pro anima. | guorgoret. | fecit. This I am inclined to divide as follows, treating the longer line as a truncated hexameter:—

Crux Christi:

Enniaun pro | án'ma Guor|góret | fécit.

Einion made it for the soul of Gwrwared.

It belongs to the period of the old Welsh Glosses, that is to say that of the ninth and tenth centuries; but one ought perhaps to regard that period as extending back into the eighth.

48. Other instances of the curtailed hexameter seem to offer themselves in the following, that is if one attach no excessive importance to the secondary stress, which is here left unmarked:—

Bríaci | fili | Éva|lengi. *Arch. Camb.*, 1896, 303 ; 1897, 133, 329.

Dóbituc|i filius | Évo|lengi. *II.*, 109 (with Ogam).

Cátnrug|i fili | Lóver|naci. *II.*, 231.

To these may be added from the Whithorn inscription, to be described next, the two lines :—

CHRISTE | te domin|n[m] lan|damn[s].

Et filia | súa | ánni | quinti.

Possibly one may class also in this group the following with a final dactyl :—

Sabíni | fili | Macco|Décheti. *II.*, 26.

Ilie iácit | mülíer | bóna | Nóbili[s]. *II.*, 162.

The question, however, as to the latter is whether *Nobili* (for *Nobilis*) was meant to be pronounced *Nobli*; and as to the former whether the modifying of *Maqui Decceddias* into the Brythonic Latin form of *Macco-Decheti*, carried with it the pronouncing of the Goidelic name as *Dechéti*, after the Brythonic fashion. To these possible instances of curtailed hexameters ending with a dactylic foot may be added from No. 50, to be discussed in the fourth group, the verse :—

Prónepus | Eter|náli Ved|ómavi.

49. WHITHORN, WIGTONSHIRE.

The stone was found in 1890, by the late Mr. William Galloway, in the course of excavations conducted by him for the late Marquess of Bute, on the site of the ancient priory founded by St. Ninian, the Candida Casa of ecclesiastical history. I published a reading in *The Academy*, September 5, 1891, p. 201. Subsequently it was examined by Mr. Haverfield, who found that I had overlooked the monogram of Christ at the top of the stone. On the last day of July 1903, I paid another visit

to the stone, and was able to corroborate my friend as to the monogram; in other respects my reading is practically the same as before, as follows, with the ligatures resolved:—

XPI
TE DOMINV
LAVDAMV
LATINVS
ANNORVM
·XXXV ET
FILIA SVA
ANNI· V
IC FINVM
FECERVTV
NEPVS
BARROVA
DI

The monogram is of the kind given in Hübner's Nos. 1 and 31, and may be described as an X bisected perpendicularly by P, but the top portion of the P is gone with a certain amount of the top edge of the stone, where it is left rough. Several of the consonants are now very indistinct, such as *om* in the first line, not to mention several of the final ones of the seven first lines. But the final *m* of *dominum* and the final *s* of *laudamus* were probably never there. The *an* of the fourth line is a ligature, while *anni* of the seventh is written in full, and the *v* seems to have a point prefixed to it, as in the case of the other numeral *xxxv*; but after the *v* there may have been an *i*, making it into *vi* instead of *v*: I could not be sure. The *s* of *sinum* (for *signum*) is of the angular or gamma form. The *h* of *hic* is absent, and the *n* of *fecerut* has not been even indicated. The form of the letters *f* and *i* deserves mention; the letter *e* is tall, with its three bars very short, and *f* has also three bars, but it differs from *e* in having its top one longer and sloping upwards, while the *i* is like the *e*, except that it lacks the little bar in the middle. On the other hand, the last *i* of all has a short stroke across it near the bottom, but I hesitate to read it *e*.

The spelling *nepus* for *nepos* is not peculiar to this epitaph, but the word is remarkable here as the nominative to a plural verb: in fact it seems to have been introduced to render the native word *mocu*, which was not restricted

in its signification to one individual of a clan or tribe. Who the Mocu Barrovadi were I cannot tell, but they were Picts or Goidels, certainly not Brythons. There is nothing distinctly Brythonic about the epitaph, unless it be the *o* of *Barrovadi*, for which one might have expected *Barravadi*; and until the name is identified one cannot tell whether the final *i* represents anything more than the Latin genitive ending provided for the occasion.

The whole when put into the ordinary spelling seems to scan thus, in three shortened hexameters followed by a pentameter, as to which, however, I am by no means certain :—

CHRÍSTE | te dómin|um laud|ámus
 Latínus | annórum | trigínta | quínque
 Et filia | súa | ánni | quínti |
 Hic sígnum | fecér|unt||Népos Ba'r|rová|di||

Christ, Thee as our lord we praise:
 Latinus at five and thirty here is laid
 And in her fifth year his daughter.

The sign at the head the Barrovadians made.

The sign mentioned means in the first place the monogram at the head of the inscription, but secondarily it applies doubtless to the whole monument. It is a singular record of the family or tribe joining to set up a tombstone to the memory of one presumably of their number, together with his infant daughter.

One could hardly venture to date this monument earlier than the sixth century: it may be later.

iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 4.

Up to this point we have been occupied with part hexameters of four feet each, which are the most usual on the stones. But we are now coming to instances consisting

of five feet each: they are, so to say, short of the first foot only, as in the following instances:—

50. MAEN LLYTHYROG, ON MARGAM MOUNTAIN, GLAMORGANSHIRE:
see *Hübner*, 71; *Westwood*, p. 23.

The inscription is in capitals, except the letter *h*, two of the final *i*'s are horizontal, and all the *a*'s are upside down; *fi* and *li* are represented by ligatures, but the letters are otherwise better cut than the average of inscriptions of the kind. On the top of the stone is a small Maltese cross, which is joined by a sort of connecting line with the *filius* of the epitaph, which reads as follows:—

BODVOCH	hic	IACIT	The Cross of Bodvoc: here lies
✕—FILIVS	CATOTIQ	IRNI	the son of Catutegernjos,
PRONEPVS	ETERNALI		great grandson of Æternalis
VEDOMAVH			of Vedomagus.

The first part forms a curtailed hexameter of five feet, and the rest seems to be a similar one of four. Accordingly the whole would scan as follows:—

Bodvóci | hic iácit | filius | Cátotig|irni
Prónepus | Éter|náli Ved|ómavi

Pronepus stands for *pronepos*; in fact *nepus* also occurs for *nepos*; and *Eternali* for *Æternalis*, derived from *Æternus*, which, as *Eternus*, genitive *Eterni*, occurs more than once in our inscriptions in Wales. *Bodvoci* is the genitive of the Brythonic *Bodvōco-s*, a name met with abbreviated as **BODVO**, **BODVOC**, **BODVOS** on coins found mostly in Gloucestershire and the west of Oxfordshire: see Sir John Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 134-9. *Bodv-ōco-s* was the Brythonic form of what was *Bodvāco-s*, genitive *Bodvāci* in Gaulish: see Holder s. v. *Catotigirni* stands for the genitive of *Catutegernjō-s*, which makes in Welsh

Cattegirn and *Catëyrn* 'war-lord or battle prince'. The place-name in its early form would be *Vedo-magos*, but there is reason to suppose the final *s* of *magos* 'field or plain', to have been dropped pretty early. On the Continent the word was treated as *magus* in Latin, as for instance in *Augusto-magus*, 'the field of Augustus', and *Ratú-magus*, *Rotó-magus*, 'the field of the *ráth* or fortification', the name of which was made into *Rotomaus*, *Rotomus*, and finally *Rouen*. That is to say *magus* was treated as of the same declension as *dominus*, *regnum*, whereas it really was an *s* neuter of the declension in Celtic which corresponded to that of *genus*, *generis*, in Latin; but here we seem to have evidence of its being treated differently, for from *Vedomagu(s)* a genitive *Vedomagu-i* seems to have been formed, and the latter with the *g* elided makes our *Vedomau-i*. The Welsh representative should be *gwyđ-fa*, and there is such a word, but it means a monument of the dead or a tomb, for *magos* has been reduced to *ma*, mutated *va* or *fa*, meaning no longer a field or plain, but merely a place whether large or small. For the wider meaning there is a derivative *maes* 'a field', from some such a stem as *magas-to-* or *magas-tu-*. It is more likely, however, that our place-name corresponded in meaning and origin to the Irish *fiad-mag* (the genitive *fiudh-moigi* occurs in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 79). This meant a field or plain abounding with deer or other game (*fiad*). This word occurs in *fiad-mil*, in Welsh *gwyđ-fil*, 'a wild animal', and similarly *fiad-mag* would be in Welsh *gwyđ-fa*, with some such a meaning as deer field. Modern Welsh pronunciation would hardly distinguish between a possible *gwyđfa*=*vīdu-magos*, 'wood field', and *gwyđfa*=*vīdo-magos*, 'deer field', to neither of which *gwyđfa* in the sense of a monument would seem to belong, unless it be that the burial place was purposely left to be

a wilderness in the undisturbed possession of wild animals, and that in Brythonic the word for such a wilderness came to mean a graveyard.

Hübner places this inscription among those of his second period, but Westwood would appear to have entertained the possibility of its being of the fifth or the early part of the sixth century.

51. TREVENA, TINTAGEL, CORNWALL: *see the "Arch. Camb."*, 1895, p. 58.

The stone is an ornamented cross, now in the garden of the Wharnccliffe Hotel. It is in parts difficult to decipher, but the following is Mr. Langdon's reading of the front:—MAC|HEVS|MAR|CVS|LVCA|S IOh, and of the back:—ÆLN|AT+|FECIT|HĀC CRV|CEM P A|[N]IMA SŪ. The *c*'s are all square, and the *h* at the end of the first line is duly provided with a mark of abbreviation; the same may be expected to have been indicated in the case of *pro* on the other face, unfortunately my notes of my examination of the stone in 1896 have been lost in the hands of an editor. Taking the foregoing reading to be substantially correct, we have two curtailed hexameters of four and five feet each as follows:—

Mathéus | Márens | Lúcas Io|háñnes.
Ælmat | fécit hanc | crúcem pro | ánima | sía.

As to the age of this monument I can hardly venture a guess, but I should not suppose it earlier than the eighth century.

52. GESEL GYFARCH, NEAR TREMADOC, CARNARVONSHIRE: *see "Arch. Camb."*, 1882, pp. 161-5.

The stone is at the farm house of Gesel Gyfarch, and has been described by me in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The top and the lower side of the inscription have been trimmed off by a mason, but what remains reads downwards as follows, with the ligatures resolved:—**FILI CVNALIPI | CVNACI [IC] IACIT | | BECCVRI.** In both instances *na* form a ligature, so do *fi* and *vr*, which is more unusual. The *e* is rounded, **€**, like the *c* next to it, but the next *c* is angular, **<**. The letters are all capitals, but the stone, which is greenstone, has on it a sort of hard patch, which interfered with the cutting of the second line, so that the *ia* of *iacit* are out of line with the other letters, and that it is hard to say whether *ic* or *hic* was ever there. Fortunately that does not matter to the metre, but the second verse is hopelessly gone, so that one cannot tell whether it was a curtailed hexameter, say of four feet, or else a pentameter or half-pentameter. The first portion makes the other verse five feet of accental hexameter, as follows:—

Fili | Cu'na|lípi | Cúnaci ic | jácit.

The grave of Cunalip's son Cunac : here he lies.

I take the accentuation to be Goidelic, and if so the unusual position of the father's name, *Cunaci*, is explained: it was the only word that would yield the dactyl the inscriber wanted in the last foot but one. The case has a parallel in *Fili Lovernii Anatemori* on the Llanfaglan stone, p. 58. The name *Cunac-i* of the son, is a reduced form of a compound like the father's name *Cunalip-i*; it survives in Welsh as *Cynawg*, *Cynog*, as for instance, in Llan Gynog in Montgomeryshire. As to *Cunalip-i*, it should make in modern Welsh either *Cyullib* or *Cynllyb*; the former is the more probable, as we have a kindred *Libiau* (for instance in the *Liber Landavensis*), in modern Welsh *Llibio*, as in Llan Llibio in Anglesey. In that manuscript the name should be *Conlip*, but it does not

appear to occur, though a derivative does, *Conlipan*. Here the accentuation of the epitaph has been treated as Goidelic, but the *p* of *Cunalipi* looks Brythonic: in fact *Conlipan* seems to be represented in Irish by *Conligan*, on which see the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1902, pp. 20, 21, and O'Donovan's edition of the *Topographical Poems* (Dublin, 1862), p. 133, note 769. Add to this that Beccuri is a genitive which appears in Irish Chronicles as *Bicoir*; the Four Masters have it, under A.D. 620, in the designation of a man whom they call Artur mac Bicair, and Tigernach, according to Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, xvii, 178, has "ab Artuir filio Bicoir Britone"; and Professor K. Meyer, in Nutt's *Voyage of Bran*, i, 84, finds the same entry in the Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, B. 488, fo. 9b, 2, where one reads:—*Mongan mac Fíachna Lurgan ab Artuir filio Bicoir Pretene lapite percussus interit*,¹ "Mongan mc Fiachna Lurgan dies struck with a stone by Arthur, son of Bicor of Preten". This last word seems practically identical with the old Welsh Priten, meaning either Prydyn, the country of the Cruithni or Picts, or else Prydain, the whole of our Island. The description of Arthur as a Brython, as of the Brythons, or as a Welshman, arose doubtless out of the attempt to guess the meaning of the unusual form *Pretene*; so that we may still doubt that he and his father were Brythons. It is evident, however, that the family had come under Brythonic influence, at any rate that of the fame of Arthur; the name *Artur* is that of the Brythonic hero, and on the spread of it see Zimmer's *Nennius Vindictus*, pp. 283, 284. In the *p* of *Cunalipi* one detects the same Brythonic influence, and that is all

¹ Besides *Pretene*, the spellings *lapite* and *Artuir* are of considerable interest, especially the expedient of indicating the sound of Brythonic *ur* by introducing an *i*.

the more relevant as the obscurity and unusualness of the name Beccur or Bicor, makes it almost certain that we have a reference in the epitaph to the same man who is mentioned in the chronicle entry just cited. It is unfortunate that the fragmentary state of the stone does not permit us to see what relation he was to Cunalip; we shall probably be safe in assuming that he represented an earlier generation. Perhaps one might add that we have here a glimpse of the family in the process of adopting Brythonic as their language. Their connection with Cantyre, where Mongán was killed, and with North Wales, points to their being Goidels or Scots rather than Brythons.

These surmises would point to the seventh century, possibly to the eighth, as the date of the inscription.

53. LLANNOR, NEAR PWLLHELI, CARNARVONSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 138; *Westwood*, p. 181; and *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 367.

The stone is in the churchyard at Llannor, where it had formerly been one of the gate-posts. This use involved damaging a portion of the second line; but the name *Loculiti* which has suffered is fairly certain. The letters are all debased capitals except the *h*, and the reading is as follows:—FIQVLINI FILI | LOCVLITI hic IACIT. *Figulini* is evidently the genitive of a Latin *Figulinus*, which might have also been spelt *Figlinus*: here it is to be treated as such. So the scanning I adopt is the following:—

Fig'líni | fili | Locu|liti hic iácit

The grave of Figulinus son of Loculit: here he lies.

Figulinus was possibly a Christian name adopted with direct reference to St. Paul's words: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels", etc., II Cor. iv, 7. A

partially cognate form to *Locu-liti* occurs in *Litogen-i* and Gaulish names of the same kind: see p. 50 above; but the whole compound seems to be represented by the *Liclit* in ‘Lann Mihagel Liclit’ of the *Liber Laudavensis*, pp. 32, 44.

I should be inclined to date this towards the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

54. ST. CUBERT, CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 12.

The stone reads CONETOC^H | FILI TEȜERNO | MAL^H “the burial place of Conetoc son of Tegernomal”. The lettering is irregular, and the *g* and *r* are of the Hibernio-Saxon type, while the *i* ending the line is in both cases horizontal. We seem to have to scan as follows:—

Cóne | to’ci | fili | Tégerno | ma’li.

That is, we assume the accentuation to have been Brythonic, and as to the deceased’s name, one may say that it looks like a later and simplified pronunciation of the Goidelic *Quenatauci*, which occurs in another Cornish inscription: see page 70 above. Further, the name *Tegernomal* occurs elsewhere; for instance, the author of a *Life of St. Samson* addresses his preface “ad *Tigerinomalum episcopum*”, who is supposed to have been living towards the end of the sixth century: see *Acta Sanctorum*, July 28, vol. vi, p. 573a.

Hübner places it in his second group.

55. TRE’FARCHOG (or ST. NICHOLAS), PEMBROKESHIRE: see *Hübner*, 101; *Westwood*, p. 126.

The stone is in the church and reads TVNCCEȜACE VX | SOR DAARI HIC IA | CİȜ “Here lies Tunccetace wife of Dagare”. The stone has on its face a cross so placed as

to suggest its being taken possibly as a part of the epitaph: thus if we read it *crux Christi* we should have a complete hexameter. It is thought, however, best to take only what is in letters, and the scanning seems to be the following:—

Tu"nccet | áce | úxsor | Dáari 'ic | iácit.

The accentuation is here taken to be Goidelic in both names, as to the former of which the nominative in *e* has already been discussed at p. 13. It would be possible, however, to regard the name here as standing for a genitive *Tunccetācē(s)*, and to translate accordingly, "T's grave: here D's wife lies". The name as a whole would seem to have had the same signification as the Latin *Fortunata*, by which it may even have been suggested: it is derived from *tuncceto*— in Old Irish *tocad* 'fortune', Welsh *tynghe*l 'fate'; and the affix *āc*— in such words is approximately equivalent to the *āt*— in *fortunātus*, *fortunāta*. The hiatus in *Duari* is remarkable as providing an equivalent for the spirant sound of *g*, which is found regularly written in Medieval Irish in this name; so it appears as *Daigre*, genitive *Daigri*. Our spelling points possibly to a dialectal peculiarity, for it does not stand alone: we have in the same neighbourhood **PAANI** for *Pagani*: see the *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, p. 55. Neither of the names in the epitaph is known in Welsh.

Westwood refers this inscription "to a period but little, if indeed at all, more recent than the departure of the Romans from the Principality". But I fail to appreciate his reasons for thinking so, and Hübner seems nearer the mark in making the date the sixth or the seventh century.¹

¹ The time of the disappearance of the nasal in words like Irish *tocad* is very difficult to approximate; but I have been inclined to date it perhaps too early, and the remarks on *Ercilinci*, p. 19, might be simplified accordingly.

56. LLANFECHAN (or LLANVAUGHAN), NEAR HIGH MEAD, CARDIGANSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 114; *Westwood*, p. 136, pl. 64.

The stone is now preserved by Colonel Davies Evans, at his residence at High Mead. The legend in Latin is **TRENACATVS | IC IACIT FILIVS | MAGLAGNI** “Trenacat lies here son of Maglagn”. It is accompanied by an Ogam inscription reading *Trenaccatlo*, which raises questions of considerable difficulty. It seems to be a compound, meaning ‘the Trenacat tomb’: in any case it has to be interpreted on the same lines as the Ogam on the Trefgarn stone, the right reading of which appears to be *Ogtenlo* (with the Latin *Hogtivilis filii Demeti*); but such a double compound as *Trenacat-lo* without a thematic vowel at the end of the second element makes it hard to believe this monument to be a very early one. So I should be disposed to treat *Trenacatus*—it is to be noticed that it is not *Trenocatus*—as being on a level almost with *Dinúcat* (pp. 7, 9) and the like. The scanning in that case would be:—

Trenácat|us ic | iácit | filius Mag|lágni.

Trenacat does not survive, but it is represented by *Tringat*, namely, in the ‘Kulhwch’ and in the ‘Geraint’ (Oxford *Mab.*, pp. 132, 265). The other name might be expected in Medieval Welsh, as *Maelan*, derived from *Maglos*, Welsh *Mael*.

Hübner places this inscription in his first group, but for the reason suggested I should be somewhat inclined to date it as late as the end of the seventh century.

57. PORTHQUEENE, NEAR CAMELFORD, CORNWALL: see *Hübner*, 15; “*Arch. Camb.*”, 1895, p. 51, pl. 35.

The inscription is in a bad state of preservation, but partly as the result of our examination and partly of

previous descriptions of it by others, I take it to read **BROCAŃI IHC IACIT NADOTTI FILIV** with the monogram of Christ standing above the letters. I construe as follows :—“The burial place of Brocagn: here lies Nadott’s son”. The second *n* and the *s* are of the minuscule form, and the *c* is square as frequently happens in Cornwall. The *h* of *hic* is misplaced, owing to the inscriber having carelessly joined the wrong perpendiculars of which he had three, |||, cut seemingly before he thought of finishing an *h*: at any rate no more profound explanation of his error seems to be called for. The whole would appear to scan as follows :—

CHRISTUS | Brocágnī īic | iácit | Nádotti | filiūs.

The first genitive *Brocagni* belongs to a name which was written later *Brocáu* in Irish, and *Brychan* in Welsh. The other, *Nadotti*, is possibly (in spite of the simpler vowel) a Latinized form of what appears in Medieval Irish as *Nuada*, genitive *Nuadat*, Welsh *Nud*, represented in Roman Britain by *Nudons* or *Nodons*, dative *Nodenti* or *Nodonti*: see the *Berlin Corpus*, vii, 137-140, and p. 10 above.

Hübner, who had only a misleading facsimile of the inscription at his disposal, gives no opinion as to the date; but one could not regard it as early. Perhaps the end of the seventh century is the earliest guess one could make. At any rate it belonged probably to a time when Goidelic was in its last stage of decadence in Cornwall.

58. Others of the same metre are the following :—

Jove|náli[s] | fíli E|téni hic | iácit. *Hübner*, 139.

Ali[s] | órtus | Élmeti a"co hic | iácet. *Westwood*, p. 180.

Méli | médiçi | fíli | Martíni | iácit. *H.*, 142.

Te"ger|nácus | fílius | Márti hic | iácit. *H.*, 58.

 iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 5.

We have now done with the principal instances of part hexameters of four and five feet each respectively; and those of three feet might now be discussed, but it is hardly worth while to deal with them at length. In fact, except when they seem to represent the latter half of a hexameter, I should know of no proof that they were metrically meant at all. But as it is, too many of the instances affect the dactylic movement characteristic of the latter part of a hexameter for this to be regarded the result of accident: their authors must have had a decided liking for it. Witness such epitaphs as the following, the number of which could be easily doubled:—

59. Cælexti | Monedo|rigi. *Hübner*, 128.

Cuno|gusi hic | iacit. *Westwood*, p. 192.

Ulcagni | fili Se|veri. *H.*, 14.

Ingen|[a]vi me|morja. *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, Langdon and Allen, pl. 1.

Neprani | fili Con|bevi. *H.*, 27.

It is possible to deal in still shorter portions of the hexameter: in fact we have already had an epitaph ending with the Adonic: Fíliús Car|ótinn, in No. 65. Sometimes this constitutes the whole inscription, as in the case of the epitaph: Gúrdan Sa|cérdos (*H.*, 42). Rare as such instances are, they help to accentuate the evidence, that the sequence $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—}$ was at one time a favourite one with the Celts of this country.

 v. HORATIAN METRES.

60. LLANERFYL, MONTGOMERYSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 125; *Westwood*, p. 153: “*Arch. Camb.*”, 1874, p. 333.

The stone is in a bad state of preservation, and this is what I was able to read the last time I saw it, namely, in

1902: HIC . . . | TVMVLO IA | CIT R . . STE | CE FILIA PA |
 TERNINI | ANIXIII IN | PA. The oldest representation of it seems to be a sketch from the papers of Lewis Morris, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, p. 13, plate iij, fig. 3; this has been reproduced by Hübner, and it shows the word *in* to have been then in its place at the top of the stone, but since that time the bit of the stone bearing it is gone. The second *v* of TVMVLO is fairly certain, though Morris seems to have dotted it as an *o*, but it consisted of a ligature with the *m*, and I thought I detected traces of the slanting line on the edge of a breakage in that part of the stone. The missing letter in the woman's name he has dotted also for *o*, and he wrote "Rostece or Rastece": the former was probably right: had the vowel been other than *o* one would expect to find traces of a straight line there. Hübner treats the age as *an lxiii*, but that is not the reading of the stone. The letter preceding *x* is perfect, and it is *i*, not *l*. Neither am I persuaded that there is any occasion to suppose the *i* an error for *l*. The spelling of *annus* in its different cases with a single *n* is common enough, witness the *Corpus I. L.*, xii, p. 953^a, where nine such instances are referred to. Westwood, trusting recklessly to a rubbing, introduces errors of his own: and it is not only unnecessary to complete the word *pace* at the end, but contrary to the inscriber's final intention. There was plenty of room for the letters *ce*, but they were never cut, and the reason is supplied by the scanning, which must now be explained. The epitaph consists of the half of an accentual pentameter, preceded by a verse based on the metre called Archilochius Major, consisting of a dactylic tetrameter plus three trochees. The stock examples of the quantitative original occur in Horace's fourth *Ode*, beginning with the well known line, "Solvitur acris hiems

grata vice veris et favoni". The scheme is =z~| =z~| =z~|
 ~~~|~~|~~|~z| So the epitaph seems to scan as follows:—

Hic in | túmulo | iácit | Rostéce | filia | Pater|níni  
 Án[n]i tre|décimī in | pá.

Here is laid in the barrow Paternin's daughter Rostece,  
 Aged thirteen—in peace!

The author appears to have first meant to close the epitaph with *pace* rhyming with *Rostece*; but as he went on he found that if he wrote *in pace*, he would be violating his metre; so he seems to have had to adopt, as the end of the epitaph, what he had often probably seen used as an abbreviation. The phrase *in pace* appears to have been treated as an 'adien', and we have it shortened to a disyllable in a passage in the *Book of Taliessin*,<sup>1</sup> as to which see the *Revue Celtique*, vi, 43. Owing to the custom of friends kissing one another when parting, the expression became the word for a kiss, for that is the origin of the Welsh *impog* 'a kiss', *pocyn*, *pocan* 'a smack or kiss', Breton *pok* 'a kiss', and also Irish *p'g*, 'a kiss', which, perhaps, owes its *ó* to Brythonic. The other question suggested by the metre is that of the accentuation of the deceased's name, for *Róstece* as well as *Rostéce* might fit. The latter sounds the more Brythonic of the two, and in any case the inscription belongs to the country of the Ordovices, so that one cannot reckon on Goidelic influence here. *Róstece* recalls the sound of the Latin name *Rustica*, which, however, has against it the ending *e* characteristic of the Celtic declension noticed in connection with *Oruvite* at page 13 above. The origin of the name is obscure, but it is possibly the same as that of *Ustic*, borne by a son of Geraint, in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131, and by a son of Caw, p. 143. The former is written *Ysteg* and *Usteg* in Rees's *Welsh Saints*,

<sup>1</sup> Owing to a defect in the MS. the reading is now *ym pa*, but the original was possibly *ym pabe*.



pp. 161, 297, and the latter becomes *Iustic* son of Caw in the Story of Kulhwch (Oxford *Mab.*, p. 107) as if a derivative of the Latin name *Justus*. In case *Ustic* or *Ysteg* was a real name, our *Rostece* would have to be regarded as a compound with the prefix *ro* (for Indo-European *pro*), modern Welsh *rhy*. The stem *stec* is of uncertain origin, but, as *sech*, it is a very common element in Irish female names like *Duinsech*, genitive *Duinsige*.

Hübner places this among the inscriptions of his first period, and I should be inclined to regard it as dating not long after the Roman occupation.

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61. GORS, NEAR ABERDARON, CARNARVONSHIRE: see Hübner, 144; Westwood, p. 177.

The stone is now at Cefn Amwlch, and when I saw it years ago I read it as in the margin, with the ligatures resolved, but lower down I thought I could read

|             |                                                 |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| SENACVS     | PRESPI TER                                      |
| PR̄SB       | which I regard as part of a                     |
| HIC IACIT   | second verse. The spelling <i>multitudinem</i>  |
| CVMMVL TITV | with a final <i>m</i> in the ablative, is owing |
| DNEM        | partly to the fact that the case consonants     |
| FRATRVM     | had ceased to be sounded, so that when it       |
|             | was thought fit to write them, there was        |
|             | no certainty where they belonged and            |
|             | where they did not; but the elision of the      |

second unaccented *i* of *multitudine* is explained by the metre. This may possibly be the Greater Asclepiad, but I regard it rather as another instance of the Archilochian verse as in the case of the Llanerfyl stone:—

Séna|cus présby|ter hic | iácit cum | n.ulti|túdne | frátrum.

But even that is not right, since there ought to be a break at the end of the tetrameter, and it is not unlikely

that *multitudne* was intended to scan as a trisyllable. In that case the verse would run thus :—

Sénac|us prés|byter | hic iácit | cum mul'túdne | frátrum.

The priest Senacus lies here with many of the brethren.

The word **PRESPITER** probably formed part of some such a half pentameter as *Máglus prés|byter fé|cit*, or *Présbyter|Máglus fé|cit*, according to the position of *Prespiter* on the stone. *Senacus* was a Goidelic name which appears in Irish as *Senach*, *Seanach*, and in Welsh as *Henawg*, *Henog*, and the latter would have assumed in Brythonic inscriptions the spelling *Senocus* or *Henocus*, with the stress accent on the *o*.

The inscription was found with one reading *Veracius presbyter hic iácit* (p. 74), and Hübner places both of them in his earliest period.

62. LLECH IDRIS, NEAR TRAWSFYNYDD, MERIONETH: see *Hübner*, 131; *Westwood*, p. 161; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1885, p. 145; 1897, p. 137.

This stone has been already alluded to, and the following is the arrangement of the letters on it :—

PORIVS  
HIC IN TVWVLO IACIT  
HOMO PLANVS FVIT

So it is clear that the author of this epitaph treated it as two lines, with the first of them ending with **PORIVS**, which, when he had reached the ground line, he cut opposite **IACIT**. The metre is the same as that of the heptameter on the *Llanerfyl* stone, so the scanning is probably as follows :—

Hic in | túmulo | iácit | Poríus | hómo | plánu | frúit||

Here in the barrow lies Poríus : a simple<sup>1</sup> man was he.

<sup>1</sup> I have used the word "simple" as being a somewhat ambiguous adjective; for I have failed to extract from such dictionaries as I have consulted any special meaning for the word *planus*: I must

Here again the metre stops short of fixing as decisively as one could wish the accentuation of the one name in the epitaph. For after discarding a dissyllabic *Pórŷus* as excluded by it, we have two possibilities left. The first is to follow the lead of *Plu|tónia* in the last couplet but one of the fourth Ode, and scan the name in the Latin way as a trissyllable *Pórius*: but I find nothing to countenance this treatment in the case of a Celtic word. The other possibility is *Poríus*, with nearly the same accent as *nos vétat* in the previous couplet of the same Ode. It would accordingly seem that *Poríus* represents an early Brythonic *Porigŷo-s*, but as the guttural was always liable to be elided, the name may be the same as that of the *Porius* mentioned by Suetonius in his *Caligula*, 35, as an *essedarius*: he was presumably a Gaul. However, the *Porrex* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii 16, iii 19, accusative *Porresem*, is possibly to be regarded as suggested by this name written with the guttural consonant intact *Porigŷo-s* or *Poregŷo-s*. So it looks as if we have the modern equivalent of the latter in the poetic Welsh word *perŷf* 'dominus', pronounced *perŷv*, with a *v* representing the spirant sound of the *g* of the early form: compare *hyf* 'bold' for an early *segŷo-s*, and *llefyd*, the ordinary plural of *lle* 'a place', Breton *lec'h*.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period.

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63. GLANUSK PARK, NEAR CRICKHOWEL, BRECKNOCK: see Hübner, 34; *Westwood*, p. 73.

The stone was found on a farm in the neighbourhood and bears two inscriptions, one in Goidelic written in

leave it to the student of Late Latin to determine what it exactly meant here. If I am told that it was intended to convey that *Porius* was a man of low rank or humble origin, I can only reply that in that case I should not expect to find his name on a stone at all.

Ogam, which is imperfect, reading only *Turpil*[*li*. . . . *Tri*]luni . . . and the other in Latin reading as follows:—TVRPILLI IC | IA | CIT | PVVERI TRILVINI dVNOCA | TI. The spelling *pureri* for *pueri* is not often met with, but it has a parallel in DRVVIDES on the Druid Stone at Killeen Cormac, in County Kildare: see the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, i, 1-8. The metre is based on that called the Iambelegus, consisting of a dimeter Iambic plus the half of an Elegiac pentameter: the scheme is  $\approx - \cup - \approx - \cup \approx | - \cup \cup - \cup \cup \approx$ . So the scanning is as follows:—

Turpíl|lī ic iá|cit pú|veri||Trilluni | Dunóca|tí||

Here lies the body of Turpillius the boy of Trillun Dunocat.

The accentuation of *Dunocati* has already been discussed; both the thematic *o* and the accent make it Brythonic, except the case ending *i*, which is Latin in this instance. The accentuation of *Trilluni* is left doubtful; if we give it the Goidelic accent we have *Trílluni*, and the whole runs just like the last line of Horace's thirteenth *Epode*:—

Defórmis ægrimóniæ dúlcibus allóquiis.

But as *Dunócati* has the Brythonic accent, *Tríllúni* is more likely the pronunciation to be preferred of the other vocable; this fits the metre equally well, and the line will then end with the same movement as *nunc máre*, *nunc sílua*, ending the first couplet of the same *Epode*.

Hübner places this epitaph in his second period, but I should be inclined to date it nearer to the Roman Occupation.

64. PENMACHNO, CARNARVONSHIRE: see Hübner, 136; Westwood, p. 175.

The inscription is surmounted by the monogram of Christ, and it reads across the face of the stone *more*

*Romano*, as follows:—CARAVSIVS | HIC IACIT | IN HOC  
CON<sup>1</sup>GERIES LA<sup>1</sup>PIDVM. The Latinity is bad, but corrected  
it reads as follows in the same metre as before, for which  
see *Epode* 13:—

CHRÍSTUS : | Caráus|ius hic | iácit || in háe con|gérie láp|’dum.

XPI: Carausius here lies in this heap of stones.

The movement of the first part of the line is the same as  
that in the second couplet of *Epode* 13: *Occasionem de die*.  
The shortening of *lapidum* has its parallel in *lap’dem* for  
*lapidem* in Nos. 9 (p. 22) and 43.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period, but who  
the Carausius here commemorated may have been I cannot  
say. Possibly he was the prince of that name who has the  
title of Caesar given him on a coin described by Mr. Arthur  
J. Evans and ascribed by him to the beginning of the fifth  
century: see his paper “On a Coin of a second Carausius”  
in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. vij, 191-219,  
reprinted in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1888, pp. 138-63, 274.

65. GWNNWS, NEAR YSTRAD MEURIG, CARDIGANSHIRE: see *Hübner*, 122;  
*Westwood*, p. 144; *pl.* 68.

The legend is the following in minuscules, with the  
Latin contractions expanded: xps | quicunque | expli |  
cauerit | hoc nomen | det b|ene|dixione|m pro ani|ma  
hiroid|il filius | caro|tinn. “XPS: Whoever shall have  
explained this name let him give a blessing for the soul of  
Hirhoedl, son of Carodyn.” The metre is based on the  
Senarius or Iambic trimeter, of which we have here two  
lines followed by an Adonic, as follows:—

CHRÍSTUS : | Qicún|que explic|áver|it hoc | nómen,  
Dét ben|edíx|ión|em pro | án'ma | Híroid'l,  
Fílius Car|ótinn.

We have already had *anma* for *anima*: see Nos. 11, 24,

30, 38, 47. *Hiroidil* is a dissyllable, the last *i* being an irrational vowel which would have been written *y* in Medieval Welsh: in Modern book Welsh the name would be *Hirhoedl* 'long-lived'. In Old and Medieval Welsh *r* represented both *r* and *rh*, and here we have a very decided instance of the latter value, as the name is a compound *Hir-hoedl*. *Carotinn*, Modern Welsh *Carodyn*, meant a lover or friend; but I have never met with either *Carotinn* or *Hiroidil* anywhere else as proper names. The rhythm of the first line is that of *Epode* 17: take, for instance, line 40: "Voles sonari: tu pudica, tu proba". The second line has its parallel in line 66 of the same *Epode*: "Egens benignæ Tantalus semper dapis". The Adonic comes in the second *Ode*: take such endings as "Rara iuventus" and "Augur Apollo". The author of the epitaph seems to have taken advantage of the metre to return to the nominative in the case of the apposition noun *filius*.

The inscription is not likely to be earlier than the eighth or ninth century.

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#### vi. THE FRAMPTON MOSAICS.

---

After I had arrived at the conclusions embodied in the foregoing notes on the inscriptions in verse, I found that I had forgotten to mention what I must regard as earlier as well as longer specimens of the accentual hexameter than any which any one of the stones supplies. It is a well-known mosaic floor discovered near Frampton in Dorset: see the elaborate pictures of it in Lyson's *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* (London, 1813), vol. i, Frampton Notes, etc., plate v, and Hübner's account in the Berlin *Corpus*, vii, No. 2; also his *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, 31, and

a paper by Studemund in "Hermes", ix, 503, 504. The mosaic, besides various other figures or groups of figures, shows a head of Neptune dominating the whole, and in another part a damaged figure, probably of Cupid. On either side of Neptune's head and the figure of Cupid, there were double compartments or panels, containing each a hexameter divided into two lines. Let us begin with Neptune: it is the head alone, and it is surrounded with some kind of foliage concealing the whole of the ears: the wreath gives the head almost a horned appearance. As to the face, there is a large growth of beard under the mouth and chin, but the moustache consists of two dolphins, whose thin bluish tails almost meet just above the figure's mouth. The dolphins' bodies are directed wavily to right and left to join a train of other dolphins forming a kind of zone which is produced round the entire floor of the room. The double panel to the spectator's left contains the following words:—

NEPTVNI VERTEX REQ MEN

SORTITI MOBILE VENTIS

And the one to his right  
has the following:—

The *t* of *est* is damaged and so is the end of *duobus*, but the plate given by Lysons allows

SCVLTVM CVI CERVLEA ES . .

DELFINIS CINCTA DVOBV

room only for one letter, whence it would appear that the word had been carved DVOBV without the final *s*. The whole scans accentually as follows:—

Neptúni | vértex | régmen sor|títi | móbile | vénis  
Scúl[p]tum | cúí ce|rúlga est|delfínis | cíncta du|óbu[s].

Here Neptune's head, of fickle winds the lord,  
A girdle blue two dolphins round afford.

With regard to the construing Hübner accepted Stude-



mund's notion that the word *frons* should be supplied and treated as qualified by *cerulea* and *cineta*, but the metre makes an additional word inadmissible, and there is nothing to indicate carelessness on the part of the inscriber to the extent of omitting anything thought necessary to the sense, not to mention that it is by no means clear that *frons* would have been the word to supply, considering where the two dolphins have been placed, connecting the god's head with the whole circle of other dolphins. As a matter of fact *no* word has to be supplied: the noun wanted is there, being no other than the Late Latin *cineta*.

The figure of Cupid is damaged and, what is worse, the panel to the spectator's left is completely gone, and all we have is what remains of the one to his right as follows:—

|                            |
|----------------------------|
| . . . . NVS PERFICIS VLLVM |
| . . . . . GNARE CVPIDO     |

Lysons suggested completing the beginning as **FACINVS**, and Studemund as **NEC MVNVS**, which the space negatives. Among the suggestions for restoring the second line may be mentioned *telorum* or *armorum*, *pugnare* or *regnare* and *ignare*. Having regard to the spaces to be filled, I venture to suggest the following, and to scan accordingly:—

Fácinus | pérficis | úllum | bélli | gnáre Cu|pído.

"Some mischief or other is thine, Cupid, skilled in warfare."

The playfulness of the reference to Cupid as a warrior is perfectly intelligible, but it would have been excluded by the suggestion that one should read *nec munus*.

The arrangement of the lines is instructive, with each hexameter cut as nearly as possible in halves, as the reckoning, whether by feet or by syllables, proves:—

1. Neptuni vertex regmen      (7)  
   sortiti mobile ventis      (8)
2. Sculptum cui cerulea est      (6)  
   delfinis cincta duobus      (8)
3. [This is the place of the missing hexameter,  
   not the fourth.]
4. [Faci]nus perficis ullum      (8)  
   [belli] gnare Cupido      (7)

The exact sense of these lines is here a matter of minor importance: their interest centres in the fact that they are specimens of hexameter verse after it had become accentual instead of quantitative, and also in their being comparatively early: Hübner has suggested the end of the fourth century. We have no clue to their authorship, but what has already been said as to the metrical nature of certain of our inscriptions in the west of Britain, makes it but natural to conclude that they were composed by a Celt.

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## A PLACE INDEX TO THE INSCRIPTIONS.

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|                 |       |                   |                         |
|-----------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Abercar         | .. 29 | Llandysilio,      | Margam Abbey, 9         |
| Brawdy          | .. 48 | Pem. . .          | (p. 28), 15, 36, 38, 47 |
| Buckland Mon-   |       | Llanelltyd        | Menabili .. 39          |
| achorum         | .. 33 | Llanerfyl         | Merthyr Mawr 18, 27     |
| Caer Gai        | .. 4  | Llanfaglan        | Nevern .. .. 44         |
| Caldey ..       | .. 30 | Llanfechan        | Patrishow .. 37         |
| Camborne        | .. 10 | Llanfihangel      | Penmachno 19, 64        |
| Catstane, The   | .. 6  | Cwm Du            | Pentre Voelas .. 5      |
| Dyffryn Bern    | .. 42 | Llangadwaladr     | Porthqueene .. 57       |
| Eglwys Cymmun   | 41    | Llangaffo (p. 22) | St. Columb Minor 31     |
| Frampton Mo-    |       | Llangefni         | „ Cubert ... 54         |
| saics, The      | .. 97 | Llanhamlach       | „ David's .. 20         |
| Gesel Gyfarch   | .. 52 | Llanllyr          | „ Dogmel's .. 45        |
| Glanusk Park    | .. 63 | Llanmadoc         | Spittal . . . 14        |
| Gors ..         | .. 61 | Llannor           | Tintagel .. 51          |
| Gwmws           | .. 65 | Llansadwrn        | Trefarchog .. 55        |
| Hayle ..        | .. 17 | Llantwit Major    | Tregoney .. 7           |
| Kirkmadrine     | .. 16 |                   | Whithorn .. 49          |
| Llanaber        | .. 59 |                   | Worthyvale .. 34        |
| Llandawke       | .. 8  | Llech Idris       | Yarrow .. .. 2          |
| Llanddewi Brefi | 21    | Maen Llythyrog    | Ystrad Fellte .. 46     |
| Llandeilo, Pem. | 35    | Maes Llanwrthwl   |                         |
|                 |       |                   | 1, 40                   |

## PART II.

## CERTAIN WELSH METRES.

Now that the Latin data have been hurriedly surveyed in the previous part of the enquiry, the question presents itself, whether the Celts adopted in their own languages any of the metres with which they familiarized themselves in Latin. This I am able to answer in the affirmative: I may begin with Welsh, and give the first place to the metre in which the Latin influence is most conspicuous, or at any rate the one in which it first attracted my attention: that is the *englyn*.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest attested forms of this metre consists of three lines, of which the first two make up an accentual hexameter, and the third line is a half-pentameter of the same description. Horace gives an instance of combining the hexameter and half-pentameter in *Ode* iv, 7, which, as already pointed out, p. 57 above, opens with the well-known verses:—

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam granina campis  
Arboribusque comæ.

Thus Celtic versemakers may have directly imitated this Horatian metre; but that is not certain, for they may have arrived at it from the elegiac couplet by dividing the lines into halves, and then dropping one of the half-pentameters when they thought it desirable to adopt a favourite triadic arrangement. In favour of the former view must be mentioned the fact, that in the *englyn* the half pentameter does not admit dissyllabic feet: in other

<sup>1</sup> In English the word should be pronounced éng-lin not éng-glin, and the derivation of the word will be found touched upon later in these pages.

terms it consists, as in Horace's ode, of seven syllables, neither more nor less, whereas elsewhere the choice seems to have been less restricted, as may be seen on turning back to pages 35, 37, 41, 42, 45, as contrasted with the Caldey and Llech Idris inscriptions, pp. 57, 91.

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### i. THE JUVENCUS ENGLYNS.

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The oldest manuscript containing englyns is the Juvencus Codex in the University Library at Cambridge. They are in the script of the Old Welsh Glosses of the ninth century, and in a spelling possibly somewhat earlier. The most remarkable of the dozen to be found there consist of a set of three written along the top margins of the manuscript, but long since severed from the rest of it by a reckless bookbinder. Subject to one or two corrections they run thus:—

1. Ni guor|cósam nem|hénuaur | hénoid mi|télú nit | gúrmaur||  
mí am fráne | dām an cá|laur||

I fondle no maiden to-night, my retinue is not large—  
Myself and my frank around our cauldron.

2. Ni guárdam | ní cúsam | cánel<sup>1</sup> | hénoid cet | íben méd | nóuel||  
mí am fráne | dām an pá|tel||

I smile not, I kiss no *canellu* to-night, though we should drink  
new mead,  
Myself and my frank around our pan.

---

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *ni canel niguardam nicusam henoid* with *canel* as a mended spelling of what would seem to have been first written *cannu*. The analogy of the assonance in the other two stanzas seems to suggest *cenel* rather than *canel*; but neither *canel* nor even *cannu* is metrically impossible.

3. Nam érehit | mî nép le|guénid | hénoid is | díscirr mî | cóuid<sup>1</sup>||  
 dóu nám rí|ceus ún gúet|id||

Ask of me no mirth to-night, my lay is a wail—  
 One word two ills doth cause.

By way of notes on these three stanzas I offer the following conjectures: *guorcosam* is a compound of *cosam*, the modern verbal noun of which is *cosi*, 'the act of tickling'. *Nemhenuaur* is a regular mutation of *nep menuaur*, and I guess the latter word to be partly of the same origin as *meinir*, 'a fair maid'. It may be mentioned that the poet D. ab Gwilym has *meinwyr*<sup>2</sup> applied to his Morfud in poem xxij, and that in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* we find the sun called *hael vynuver*, 'bountiful maiden' (Evans's Autotype Facsimile, p. 44<sup>b</sup>, and Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ij, 46). The Cambridge MS. should be carefully examined again to see whether the reading it suggests be not actually *nemhenuaur*; but, whether that be so or not, there can scarcely be any doubt that the author meant *nemhénuaur*. This is rendered probable by the assonance with *hénoid*, which would then be secured as in *leguénid* and *hénoid* in the third englyn. *Cusam* seems borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *cyssan*, 'to kiss': in later Welsh we have only the noun *cusan*, 'a kiss',

<sup>1</sup> The *i* of *discirr* is peculiar, but I can make nothing of it but a sort of twisted and prolonged *i*. *Couciddid* is the reading, but as it violates the metre and yields no sense, I treat it as an error for *coid*, modern Welsh *cywydd* 'a lay or song', a word the technical use of which is to occupy us presently.

<sup>2</sup> D. ab Gwilym has besides this a word *mynwar*, 'a collar' (poem xxxv), which is *mynuceir*, plural *mynnuweiren* (for so the *mbeiren* of the MS. is to be corrected) in the *Mabinogi of Manawyddan* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 58); and he has also *mynucaur* rhyming with *aur*, 'gold' (poem lxviij), but neither seems to suit the sense to be expected here; nor is it to the point perhaps to mention *meinwar* (from the *Myryrian Archaeology of Wales*, i, 512), as that seems to be an adjective *mein-war*, 'slender and gentle'.

and its derivatives. The number of borrowed words in these lines is very remarkable, *franc* 'francus', *calaur* 'caldarium', *canel* 'canella', *nouel* 'novellus', *patel* 'patella', modern Welsh *padell* 'a pan'. Two of them, *canel* and *nouel*, are unknown to me except in these lines, and this is all the more to be regretted in the case of *canel*, as the *canella* or *cannella*, which it would seem to represent, had a variety of meanings. Among others ascribed to it by Ducange, are those of the diminutive of *canna* 'a reed', such as the top of a barrel, a tube, and cassia or cinamon; so we have no adequate data for fixing the meaning of *canel* here, though that of a musical pipe would seem to fit tolerably well. Lastly *ercit*, for so I read it, seems to stand for *erchit*, an imperative for what is now *erchwich* 'bid ye, demand ye'. The termination *it* is still the one in use in the Breton verb: there are other things in these verses to remind one of Breton, and to suggest a puzzling question of dialect.

Written out in the ordinary form in Welsh, the three foregoing englyns would stand thus:—

1. Niguorecosam nemhenuaur henoid, (9)  
mi telu nit gurmaur: (6)  
Mi am franc dam an calaur. (7)
2. Niguardam nieusam canel henoid, (10)  
cet iben med nouel: (6)  
Mi am franc dam an patel. (7)
3. Nam erchit mi nep leguenid henoid, (10)  
is discirr mi couid: (6)  
Don nam riceus un guetid. (7)

Here the three lines have a rhyme, but as the first of them does not complete the hexameter, it may not have always been in unison with the other two. Such would in fact be the case in the second englyn cited if we read *cann* instead of *canel*. Instances of the kind occur, such as the



following, for which I refer to Evans's *Black Book*, 35<sup>b</sup>, and Skene, ii, 36 :—

- Otréine | mab dín heb | indíwin | a dúv. (10) If the son of man perish  
without atoning  
am | awnél o | péchaud.|| (6) To God for the sin he hath  
committed,  
Ny mád áeth | éneid 'ny | gnáud|| (7) It had been better no soul  
entered his flesh.

The next englyn to be mentioned has the last syllable of the first line rhyming with a syllable in the body of the same line. I cite it, excepting the punctuation, from Evans's *Black Book*, 46<sup>b</sup>, Skene, ii, 49, as follows :—

- Can éthiv | rúiw in | ródwit i | wérit (10)  
a | téulu na | fóuch.|| (6)  
Guýdi mét | méuil na vÿn | uch.|| (7)

For the translation see "Studies in Early Irish History", in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, i, 41 : tentatively it may be given thus :—

Since a king went into Iwerydd's ford,  
Troops do not you flee ;  
After mead seek not shame.

It showed still greater ingenuity to introduce a double chain of rhymes, as in the case of *leguénid*, *henoid*, and *couid* in the third Juvencus englyn cited. These instances, it will be noticed, tend to converge on 10, 6, 7 ; and in them the hephthemimeral cæsura of the Latin metre is represented by a decided break in the fourth foot. Both these points will be further noticed presently ; but in the meanwhile I proceed to cite some more instances from a source already mentioned, namely, the twelfth century MS. of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*.

## ii. THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES CLASSIFIED.

There, under the heading of “Englyns of the Graves”, we have no fewer than seventy-three such stanzas brought together, but the last four, Nos. 70-73, are in a hand different from the others and in a later orthography. They are all to be found in Evans’s *Black Book*, 32<sup>a</sup>-35<sup>a</sup>, and in Skene’s volume, ii, 28-35. On examining the series, it is found to fall into three classes, one of which has sometimes the characteristics of the Juvencus englyns already cited, as will be explained presently.

(1) Another class of them, to be examined first, shews the hexameter divided approximately into two equal parts, so that it reminds one, to some extent, of the Frampton hexameters (pp. 98, 99). Those which fall under this head are the following, except that the list is subject to revision, owing to a certain number being of somewhat doubtful classification:—1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73.

As an instance may be cited englyn 12, as follows:—

|                                 |     |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Bét mab   óssvran yg   cámlan.  | (7) | Osfran’s son’s grave at Camlan,   |
| gvýdi   lláuer kyv   lávan.     | (7) | After many a slaughter,           |
| Bét bédwir   yn allt try   van. | (7) | Bedwyr’s grave is in Allt Tryfan. |

Here the dactylic movement is not wanting at the end of the hexameter, that is at the end of the second line in the foregoing triadic arrangement. But once one had been used to treat the hexameter as two short lines, it appears to have become a matter of choice which of the two should come first: in the instance last mentioned it would have not mattered, as both lines had dactyls in the last foot but one, so that the first line might have come second, thus:—

Gwýdi | lláwer kyv | lávan. |  
bét mab | óssvran yg | cámlan.||

But it does not appear to have been obligatory to have a dactyl in the second line if the first one had a dactyl in the right place. Take for instance englyn 15 of the *Black Book* series, as follows:—

|                               |     |                             |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| Gwýdi   gwéli a   gwáedlan.   | (7) | After blows and bloodshed,  |
| a gríscav   séirch a   méirch |     | And white steeds capari-    |
| cánn.                         | (7) | soned,                      |
| Neud éw hún   hét kintí   lan | (7) | This grave holds Cynddylan. |

It is needless to say that it was by no means necessary that the division of the hexameter should occur at the end of a foot: in other words, the two lines were to this extent treated as still forming but one verse. Of this we have an instance in the case of the first of the *Black Book* series of the Englyns of the Graves, which runs thus, with a break in the third foot:—

|                                            |     |                            |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| E bétév   aegulíh y   gláv.                | (7) | The graves drenched by the |
|                                            |     | rain—                      |
| gvír   ny ordyw   nássint vy               |     | Men they hold not wont to  |
| dígnav.                                    | (9) | fret:                      |
| Kérwid. a   chívríd <sup>1</sup> a   cháv. | (7) | Cerwyd and Cywryd and      |
|                                            |     | Caw.                       |

Of the englyns to which reference has been made, one or two have four lines each, such as 32 and 65, to which might be added 70, which consists of six lines. The 65th may be cited as a sample:—

|                                |     |                                |
|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| Étrí bet   yg kéwin   kévi.    | (7) | The three graves on Cefn Celi— |
| áwen   ae dívand   ími.        | (7) | Them the muse hath told me,    |
| Bet kínon   gárv y dúy   ael.  | (7) | The Grave of Cynon of the      |
|                                |     | rudd brows,                    |
| bet kínavel.   bet kínvé   lí. | (7) | Cynvael's grave, Cynfeli's.    |

The examples already given of this class of englyns seem

<sup>1</sup> This name, however, may have been still *Cívríd*: see pp. 24, 25 above, where the compound *Bleggyryd* is also mentioned. This last will presently be found to have been treated in Latin as *Blaugoríus*.

to prove that the half-pentameter was a fixture of seven syllables, while the two halves of the hexameter might, within certain limits, vary in point of length. But in spite of the fluctuation it will be convenient to treat the division of the hexameter as, roughly speaking, a process of bisecting. Now the fixed length of seven syllables in the case of the half-pentameters would seem to have influenced the length of the half-hexameter eventually to assume the same figure. In other words, the later forms of this metre have uniformly lines of seven syllables: the metres I mean are those known as “englyn cyrch” and “englyn proest”. As far as mere length in syllables is concerned, there is another metre which might be regarded as of this origin, as it consists of a triplet of 8, 8, 7: it is the one called *cywyđ llosgyrniog*, or “cywyđ with a tail.” But judging by the instances given by the grammarians, one misses the spring of the dactyl which should characterize a metre derived from the hexameter, but it is possible that its feet were originally not so flat. Lastly, there are variations of both englyns, which need not be discussed here: suffice it to say that one may find all about these and the other Welsh metres in the following works—Dr. John David Rhys’s *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymraecæve Linguae Institutiones* (London, 1592), pp. 168-176; *Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur*, published, with translations and notes by J. Williams ab Ithel, for the Welsh MSS. Society (Llandoverly, 1856), and containing Simwnt Vychan’s enlargement of *Y Pum Ilyfr Kerdduriaeth* (Jesus College MS., 9=xv), pp. lxvij, lxvii; *Flores Poetarum Britannicorum*, collected by Dr. John Davies, and published at Shrewsbury in 1710, but since reprinted by the Rev. Robert Jones, of Rotherhithe, with Captain Wm. Midelton’s account of Welsh versification prefixed (London, 1864), pp. xxj, xxij; Robert Davies’s *Welsh Grammar* (Denbigh, 1848), pp. 127-131.

(2) The englyns which have thus far occupied us here have their hexameter, roughly speaking, bisected; the next class may be said to have it trisected. In the Grave Englyns the following are the instances in point:—9, 10, 13, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 36, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 58, 62, 67, 71, to which are to be added two four-lined englyns, 27 and 59, both imperfect. Of some of them, however, the classification is merely tentative; but one may cite as a certain instance, the 25th, as follows, with the points of division indicated by a period:—

Bet alun dywed. yny drewred drav. ny kiliei o caled.  
mab meigen. mad pan aned.

The Celts seem to have never been able to tolerate a line of the length of the Latin hexameter. So they made their own hexameters into two lines, whereof in this class of englyn the first comprised the first two-thirds, counting about ten syllables, and the other third formed a short line appended: in this instance the fourth-foot cæsura marks the cleavage, thus:—

|                             |      |                             |
|-----------------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Bet álm   dýwed yn y        |      | Alun of Dyfed's grave in    |
| dréwred   dráv.             | (10) | yonder township:            |
| ny   kiliei o   cáled.      | (6)  | Meigen's son would shirk no |
|                             |      | hardship:                   |
| Máb Méigen   mád pan á ned. | (7)  | Lucky the day when he was   |
|                             |      | born.                       |

Here 'kíliei o' makes a strong dactyl,  $\text{z} - -$ , but in some we have what I should be disposed to regard as a weaker dactyl, namely,  $- \text{z} - -$ . Such is the case with the first englyn cited on p. 106 from the *Black Book*: take also englyn 43 in the Grave Series, which runs thus:—

|                                                     |     |                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| Piev 'r <sup>1</sup>   bet hún.   bet brúyno   hír. | (9) | Whose grave is this? Brwyno's    |
|                                                     |     | the 'Tall:                       |
| hydir   y wír in y bró.                             | (6) | In his land his right was might. |
| Parth ydvéi   ny bítei   fó.                        | (7) | Wherever he was, there was       |
|                                                     |     | no flight.                       |

<sup>1</sup> As usual the MS. has *Piev y*, which might be taken as it stands, in case it be thought preferable to place this englyn in the next class.

The exact position of the leading rhyme in the first line does not depend on the position of the break: one or more syllables may follow the rhyme to complete the line. Thus in the 25th englyn the rhyme *drewred* is followed by *drav*, an overflow word, called in Welsh a *gair toddaid*.<sup>1</sup> In this instance the overflow word alliterates with *drewred*, which most probably was intentional, but in any case it was not obligatory that *drav* should enter into any alliteration or assonance whatsoever: witness *mor* in englyn 35. When, however, that word was answered, as commonly happened, by a word in the next line, the 'gair toddaid,' would be called 'gair cyrch,' or 'fetch word', as it was said to fetch or make for a word beyond its own line in order to rhyme or alliterate with it. We have this in the englyn last quoted, where *hir* rhymes with *wir*—not with *hydîr*, which was sounded *hyd'r*. Lastly, it should be noticed that in the last englyn but one, the first break in the hexameter occurs after the fifth syllable: that was probably the commonest place of the break, but instances are not at all wanting of its occurring after the sixth syllable, as for example in englyn 21 in the Grave Series, which runs as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> *Toddaid* should have in point of meaning something to do with melting, which is in Welsh *todd-i*; but that promises at first sight no appropriate sense, unless we suppose *toddaid* to mean 'melting over', and so 'flowing over'. This, though it looks fanciful, derives some corroboration from the fact that J. D. Rhys speaks (p. 166) of it as *gair toddaid dros yr awdl*, as it were the 'word melting over or across the rhyme', which is just what I have ventured to call an 'overflow word'. It is possible, however, that my namesake was simply drawing on his own imagination, and that the explanation should rather be, that the whole line was originally called *toddaid*, and that *gair toddaid* meant simply 'a word or words belonging to the *toddaid*', namely what was marked off that line by the rhyme as a terminus.

|                              |      |                               |
|------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| Bet mádauc   mur égluc.      |      | Madog's grave a wall conspic- |
| ygkýwluc   kíuhen.           | (11) | uous, in sight of Cennen [?], |
| vir   úrien go   rév[uc].    | (6)  | The perky grandson he, of     |
|                              |      | Urien,                        |
| Máb y guýn.   o winllý   uc. | (7)  | Son to Gwyn of Gwynllŵg.      |

The fourth foot of the last mentioned stanzas has the cæsura already mentioned, and that foot may be dissyllabic like | drav. ny | in englyn 25, or, as happens oftener, dactylic like | kinhen. vir | in 21. Herewith compare the Juvenus englyns with | henoid. mi | , | henoid. cet | and | henoid. is | . When the fourth foot had this cæsura it was not obligatory that there should also be a break after the fifth or sixth foot. So there is a residuum embracing at least Nos. 10, 29, 36, 58, 66, and perhaps No. 48, which are without that break. It is absent likewise in the three Juvenus englyns and those compared with them on page 106.

(3) There was a third kind of englyn, which was based on the metre called *Archilochius Major*, the scheme of which has been given (p. 91) as follows:—

= √ √ | = √ √ | = √ √ | - √ √ || - √ | - √ | - √ |

It consists of seven feet, of which the first four are those of a hexameter, and it will be convenient to call the stanzas into which it enters heptameter englyns. Of the Celtic treatment of the Archilochian or heptameter line the Llech Idris inscription is a good instance, as to which see pages 93, 120.

Hic in | túmlo | jácit | Poríns | (10)  
hómo | plánu | fúit|| (6)

Still more to the point is the Llanerfyl Stone (p. 90), which completes the englyn by appending a half pentameter, an essential part of every englyn:—



Hic in | túmulo | jácit | Rostéce |  
 filia | Pater|níni||  
 Ánni tre|décinj in | pá||

The englyns of this kind in the Grave Series are the following, in their order, but the list is provisional, as the classification of some of them is doubtful:—4, 7, 20, 28, 30, 35, 42, 47, 53, 60. Let us take as a sample the first mentioned: subject to some emendation, it runs thus:—

|                                     |                            |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Bét tédein   tád áwen   yg gódir    | Tydain muse-father's grave |
| brin áren.   (12)                   | at Bryn Aren's foot,       |
| ynyð vná tón   tólo.   (6)          | Where you hear the billow, |
| Bét dílan   [ín] llan bév no.   (7) | Dylan's grave is in Llan   |
|                                     | Feuno. <sup>1</sup>        |

In this metre there should be a break after the tetrameter, that is, just before the three dissyllabic feet forming the latter part of the heptameter, the bisecting of which is, therefore, out of the question. That is not all, for usually the preceding portion of the verse has a break after the fifth or the sixth syllable from the beginning. For, as already remarked, it consists simply of four feet of a hexameter, the first four, let us say. But the last of those four is regularly a dactyl, and the earlier fixture occurs where it would have done in a complete hexameter trisected. Take, for instance, englyn 4 just cited, and the heptameter will stand thus:—

Bet tédein | tad áwen. | yg gódir | brin áren. | ynyð|vná tón | tólo.||

This happens to resolve itself into three phrases of six syllables each, but the metre need not be so symmetrical, as will be seen in the case of englyn 20, where the figures are 5, 5, 6, as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> The scribe of the *Black Book* seldom indulges in abbreviations, but it is quite possible that such occurred in his originals, and that it is thus we are to explain the fact that the MS. has *tedeĩ* for *tedein*. The half pentameter requires one to supply *in*, both for the sense and for the metre.

|                                |      |                           |
|--------------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| Tri bét   tri bódanc.   in     |      | Three genial men's three  |
| ar   térchanc brín             | (10) | graves the hilltop shews, |
| ym pant   gvinn gvin   iónauc. | (6)  | In Pant Gwyn Gwynionog,   |
| Mór, a méi   lir. a má   danc. | (7)  | Mor and Meilir and Madog. |

It is right to mention, however, that instances occur of the fourth foot being dissyllabic: Simwnt Vychan gives two such (p. lxvii), one of which on the subject of his sufferings from ague runs thus in the MS., p. 104:—

|                                    |      |                                            |
|------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------|
| Dólr   a gévais   o dálan   dŵyais | (10) | From the rib-tips pain was<br>mine twofold |
| Díal   am bech   ódan              | (6)  | My sins to avenge on me,                   |
| Dŵyramm ád   wyth dynód   iau      | (7)  | Buffeted by a double share<br>of woe,      |
| Dŵrn y kryd   yn dírwyn   krán     | (7)  | Punished by Ague's gore-<br>stirring fist. |

The rhyming of the fifth syllable with the end of the line, *gevais*—*dwyais* he terms an *odidowgrwydd* ‘a rarity or excellence’; but it reminds one not only of such instances as englyn 4 (p. 113), but also to some extent of the position of the rhymes in *leguenid henoid*, *rodwit Iwerit*, and even of that of the alliteration in *drewred drav*: see pages 105, 106, 110. But to return to the scansion, one looks for a fourth foot not of two syllables but of three. The presence of the former, however, cannot be treated as an accident; for not only does Simwnt give two instances but others occur in the works, for example, of Cyndelw, Ab Gwilym, and Goronwy. The explanation is probably to be sought in a practice based on a hazy tradition as to the quantitative scanning of Latin verse.<sup>1</sup> In Simwnt’s instance this may be represented somewhat as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> We have possibly a trace of the same influence in the way in which the paladr, for instance, of englyn 49 has apparently to be scanned, thus:—

Piev | y bét | hún nid | áral[1] | guýthuch urth | érvid | (13)

See, however, the footnote on page 110, and the notes on englyns 11 and 63 in chapter v.

Dólr | a gévais | o dál | au dývais |

That would give the fourth foot three syllables, but to me such a scansion is altogether arbitrary, nor do I know of any reason to suppose it required by the pronunciation of the language even as far back as the twelfth century, when Cyndelw lived and sang. But it may have come down to the sixth or seventh century and survived among successive generations of bards long enough to crystallize into a license to make the fourth foot now and then dissyllabic. So far as this goes one of its effects is to add to the difficulty of distinguishing between englyns heptametric and hexametric. That difficulty, moreover, tends to be enhanced on another side, namely, that of the three dissyllabic feet completing the heptameter. For they are, as far as I have been able to discover, subject to no exact rule as to their accentuation; and among other things they seem now and then to assume the dactylic movement characteristic of the latter portion of the hexameter. But this is a point that requires further consideration before one can dispose of it without risk of error, since the line here between the hexameter and the heptameter becomes exceedingly fine and hard to trace.

Taking together the trisected heptameter and the kind of hexameter also where trisection occurs, we have next to try to ascertain the origin of the division common to most of them, that is, after the fifth or sixth syllable.

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### iii. BLEGYWRYD'S HEXAMETERS.

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Here, however, it may be convenient first to discuss certain accentual hexameters<sup>1</sup> which occur in the preface

<sup>1</sup> For calling my attention to them I am indebted to Mr. G. G. T. Treherne, who was present at the reading of portions of my paper to the Cymmrodorion.

to the Demetian version of Howel's Laws, wherein we are told that the code was completed in the year 914, and that the verses were "composed by Blegywryd thereupon, in testimony of that event". They are five in number, and the following is the reading here adopted, as a compromise, I may say, mostly between the readings of two of the manuscripts<sup>1</sup> :—

Éxplicit | edictus | légibus | liber | béne fi|nítus,  
 Quem régi | scripsit | Blango|rídu | et quoque | fíxit,  
 Hóweli | túrbe | légis | dóctor tunc | régis in | úrbe,  
 Gornándo | cáno | súo | iúdice | cotidi|áno :  
 Réx dát ad | pártém dex|trálem quon|iam de|sierat | ártem.

To understand this text, it is necessary to remember that Howel's own realm was called Deheubarth, a name of somewhat loose definition, and meaning simply the 'Southern Part', with which may be compared the term *Dexterale Brittones* in the Latinity of the *Annales Cambrie* for Southern Brythons or Welshmen, such as those molested in 778 by Offa. Also that the opening lines of the preface assign as Howel's reason for having the code

<sup>1</sup> One version of the lines has been published in Aneurin Owen's text of the Laws, I, 342: it comes mainly from a British Museum manuscript numbered Titus D, ix, which A. Owen, I, p. xxx, has treated as written about the close of the thirteenth or the early part of the fourteenth century. Another version is quoted—somewhat inaccurately—in his preface, I, p. xxxiv: it occurs in a Bodley manuscript numbered Rawlinson C, 821, of a date possibly somewhat earlier. The verses occur at the bottom of p. 172, and are so arranged as to suggest a line left blank; but that appears to have been done simply to avoid a crease which occurs in the vellum. It is unfortunate, however, that the inner ends of the lines have long since been cut off for the purpose of inter-leaving, and that most of the last verse is illegible: Owen has omitted it altogether. The following represents my readings, with the contractions extended in italics :—

. . . . . expli[*cit*]  
 edictus legibus liber benefictus. Quem regi scripsit blango[*ridus* et]

compiled, the fact that he “observed the Cymry perverting the laws and customs” such as they were understood to be till his code was published—“uidens suos Walenses insolenter legibus abuti”. For making out the sense of the last verse I am indebted to my friend Mr. Brynmôr-Jones; and with great diffidence I propose the following free translation of the whole:—

Here endeth, brought to a happy close, the book for laws decreed,  
Which Blegywryd for the King both wrote and put together;  
He who doctor of law was then to the men of King Howel at home,  
What time Gwrnerth the Grey was judge of his Court day by day.  
This the King to Deheubarth giveth, as it had left the good old way.

In Blegywryd’s hexameters it will be noticed that, as in the case of the englyns last cited, the fifth and sixth syllables come into prominence: they are distinguished from the rest by the fact that they rhyme each towards the end of its line. The metrical importance of those syllables is to be accounted for by a reference to the place of the break known as the *cæsura* in the hexameter in its classical form. For the common *cæsurae* were two, the penthemimeral and the hephthemimeral, which, as their names indicate, occurred at the end of the fifth and the seventh half foot respectively. Of these the commoner and stronger *cæsura* was that after the fifth half foot, as in

*quoque fixit. Howeli turbe doctor tunc regis in urbe Gornando ca[no]  
suo iudice (cotidiano) Rex dat) ad (par)tes dextra (les . . . . .*  
The portions in round brackets can hardly be read, but they fit. I must add that I have had most valuable assistance from Bodley’s Librarian, who thinks that the word after *iudice* is *cotidiano* not *quotidiano*: *dat* is also his suggestion, but he reads *dextras*, while I am inclined to *dextrales*. As regards the curious name *Gornandus*, that is merely the result of misreading and misinterpreting an older spelling *Gurnerdus* or *Gornerdus*. As to the man, however, see A. Owen’s quotation following the verses in his preface: the original is on p. 173 of the Bodley MS.: see also Brynmôr-Jones’s notes on him in *The Welsh People*, pp. 183, 184, 198. Lastly, *in urbe* is a literal rendering of the South Welsh *yn nhref* ‘at home’, literally ‘in town’.

the first of the lines in question beginning with *Explicit | edic|tus*, where the fifth half foot happens to be the sixth syllable: that is the reckoning according to what should be the quantitative scansion of those words. Where, however, no dactyl occurs, the fifth half foot is also the fifth syllable, as in the next hexameter scanned in the same way and beginning with *Quem re|gi scrip|sit*. Eventually this became the rule in Welsh in all englyns, where the hexameter or heptameter is trisected; but it is to be noticed that the reckoning has been divorced from the quantitative scanning by feet or half feet. In other words the fifth (or sixth) syllable was made to end a word: there was a break between it and the next word. Furthermore, where assonance was preferred to alliteration, the fifth syllable usually rhymes with another syllable in the line: the present rule is that the syllable with which it rhymes must be one of the four which precede it. This is found to have been also the case with some of the englyns in the *Black Book*: take for instance the hexameter covering the two first lines of the second englyn in poem xxiv (Evans, 39<sup>b</sup>, Skene, ii, 40):—

|                             |      |                              |
|-----------------------------|------|------------------------------|
| Assuinaf archaf. eirchad ym |      | I ask, I beg—a beggar am I   |
| gelwir                      | (10) | called—                      |
| nant kyuir kygwastad        | (6)  | Protection just and uniform. |

Similar instances occur in poem xxi, not to mention others elsewhere, in which the sixth syllable continued to be treated in the same way. In the older englyns, however, the fifth or sixth syllable rhymed more commonly with a syllable coming later in the hexameter, by no means exclusive of the principal rhyme. Take for example the beginning of an englyn already cited, p. 110:—

|                                   |      |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Bet alun dywed. yny drewred drav. | (10) |
| ny kiliei o caled                 | (6)  |

Others of the same kind in the Grave Series will be found

in Nos. 9, 22, 31, 51, 54, not to mention those where the sixth syllable is the fixture, namely, 21, 23, 53. In other words, one may say that some of the englyns of this kind have the rhymes of the Blegywryd hexameters, as will be seen at a glance by writing the Welsh hexameter continuously and comparing:—

Bet Alun DYWED. yny drewred drav. ny kiliei o CALED.  
Howeli TURBE. legis doctor tunc. regis in URBE.

But in this instance the Welsh has, besides the two rhyming words *Dywed* and *caled*, an intermediate rhyme in *drewred*, but so has Blegywryd's first hexameter:—

Explicit edictus legibus liber bene finitus.

And if one may venture to read *dextralem* instead of Aneurin Owen's *dexteram*, the last of Blegywryd's hexameters would also fall into line, thus:—

Rex dat ad partem dextralem quoniam desierat artem.

In that case one could not regard it as an accident that the author of the verses should have devoted somewhat more attention to the structure of the first and last lines, than those that come between.

Let us now for a moment look back in the light of the foregoing instances at one or two of the inscriptions, which have been mentioned more than once in these pages. First may be recalled the portion in point of the Latin one on the Caldey Stone (pp. 56, 57):—

Rógo | ómnibus. | ambu|lántibus | íbi. ex|órent||  
Pro áníma | Catuóco|ní.||

Here the principal rhyme is represented by the final vowel of *ibi* and *Catucoeni*. The hexameter has also the *ib* of *ambulantibus* assonating with the *ib* of *ibi*; but more important still is the fifth syllable *bus* (of *omnibus*) as a fixture in the line, and as rhyming with the *bus* of *ambulantibus*. This means that in those two verses we have, as



already suggested, a complete englyn. Next may be mentioned the heptameter on the Llech Idris stone (pp. 93, 94):—

Hic in tumulo. jacit Porius. homo planus fuit.

On the stone this is divided into the two verses—

Hic in | túmulo | jácit | Poríus ||  
hómo | plánus | fúit||

with the chief rhyme represented by the *it* of *jacit* and *fuit*, while *Porius* has *planus* to respond to it. Moreover the fifth syllable is a fixture rhyming with the *o* of *Porius*, which practically proves what has been assumed all along, that the name was Pö|ríus, for it is improbable that the unaccented *o* of *tumulo* was intended to form an assonance with the *o* of *Porius* in case the latter *o* bore the stress in that name. That is not all, for the same reasoning seems to apply to the Llanerfyl stone (pp. 89-92), scanning similarly:—

Hic in | túmulo. | jácit | Rostéce ||  
fília | Pater|níni ||  
Ánni tre|décimī in|pá||

Though the later rhymes here are differently arranged, with the *ec* of *Rostece* corresponding to the stress syllable of *tredécimī*, and the final vowel of *Paternini* to that of *anni*, we have the fifth syllable fixture *o* rhyming with the *o* of *Rostéce*, an accentuation also demonstrated by the assonance with *tredécimī*.

The kinds of metre which have occupied us thus far, consist of hexametric and heptametric englyns, which may be otherwise described as englyns bisectual and trisectual, but the double dichotomy practically means only three kinds of englyn, hexameter bisectual, hexameter trisectual and heptameter trisectual. It is possible that there were other kinds. Thus the fact, that the Iambe-

legus occurs in two of the inscriptions (pp. 95, 96), suggests a metre which with a half pentameter appended, would have yielded a sort of englyn of three lines of 8, 7, 7 respectively; and at first one would seem to have instances at hand. Considering, however, how near these figures come to those of some of the other englyns, and also how unreliable the readings often are, it would be hard to prove the existence of the metre here suggested. There would be more, perhaps, to say in favour of a pentameter englyn, consisting of a pentameter bisected and a half pentameter or two appended, as in other englyns. This would make a metre of sevens, which is also the length to which the hexameter englyn bisectual most commonly accommodated itself (pp. 107-9); but there would remain the difference that the triplet of half pentameters would lack the dactyl in the place usual in the others. Such triplets occur: for example the first portion of poem xxvij, in the *Black Book* consists mainly of them (Evans, 41<sup>b</sup>-42<sup>a</sup>, Skene, ii, 43, 44). Take the following as a sample:

Guiscaw ym dánaw in|béthh. || (7) I will clothe me becomingly,  
 Ny crédaw | cóel canýd | kérth || (7) No uncertain omen shall I trust:  
 Y gúr am | créuys<sup>1</sup> am|néthh. || (7) My Maker will be my strength.

In order to reckon this as a bisectual hexameter englyn one would naturally look for a strong dactyl followed by a dissyllabic foot ending either the second or the first line; but in this case one would look in vain. The same possibly applies to the following from poem xxx (Evans, 45<sup>a</sup>, Skene, ii, 47):—

Ottid éiry | tóhid is|trad. || (7) It is snowing, thatching the strath:  
 diurýssint<sup>2</sup> | kéduir y | cád. || (7) They the warriors hasten to battle:  
 mí nid áw. | ánw nim|gád. || (7) I go not, my blemish forbids.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *creuyse*, involving an unnecessary pronoun.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. has here an otiose *ry* 'they', unless you scan: — | vy kéduir | y cád|, which is perhaps preferable.

The last but one, and others like it, are to be found interspersed among undoubted englyns. That is the case to a greater or less extent, not only in poems xxvij and xxx, but also in xxiij, xxxiiij, xxxv and xxxix; and to go beyond the *Black Book*, the same remark applies to the portions of the *Red Book of Hergest* which have been printed in Skene's volume ii, 218-91. On the whole, however, I am not quite sure that it would be right to regard the verses in question as representing a distinct class of englyn, so much as a degenerate or imperfect form of the hexametric englyn. So the two first lines of the englyn last cited would have to be scanned—*eiry* (like *boly*, *llary*, and *marw*, *enw*) counts as a monosyllable—as follows :—

Óttid eíry | tóhid | ístrad. |  
diurýssint | kéduir | y cádl. ||

The distinction turns on the presence or absence of the dactyl in the last foot but one, and some of the stages in the gradation may be shown thus:—(a) The second line has the dactyl; (b) the first line has it instead; (c) neither has it. For so one may represent successive stages in the departure from the Latin prototype, though one might increase the number of them by distinguishing between the dactyls as strong and feeble. Lastly, it will be a convenience to have a short name for the englyn lacking the dactyl, and subject to the limitations suggested, one cannot perhaps do better than call it spondaic or flat. The Grave Series is not wholly free from these flat englyns: such are, for instance, 8, 19, 64, 70, and 46, which is four-lined.

For the sake of dealing with only one question at a time, it has been assumed thus far that what is appended to the hexameter or heptameter, to make up the stanza in the Grave Englyns, consists of one or two half pen-

tameters. That is, however, not always the fact, for the attempt to edit them with due regard to the metre, leaves a certain residuum of cases where the final line refuses to shrink into seven syllables, but remains eight or nine. Nay, it is possible that emendation may prove to have been too frequently applied in my review of the *Grave Englyns*. In any case the following stand out rebellious : 5, 26, 34, 37, 39, 43, 50, 66. Take as an instance No. 26, which runs thus, with one slight emendation :—

|                                  |      |                                |
|----------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|
| Bet llia   gvitel yn   árgel     |      | Llia the Goidel's grave in     |
| ardúduy.                         | (11) | Ardudwy's recess,              |
| dan y   gvéllet ae   gvével.     | (6)  | Beneath the grass at its       |
|                                  |      | margin lies ;                  |
| Bet épint   inýffrin[t]   géwel. | (8)  | Gefel Vale holds Epynt's grave |

All the others indicated end likewise, with a line of eight syllables, except No. 39, which I would read as follows :—

|                                     |      |                               |
|-------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| Bet úpen   o priden   yn lléutir    |      | The grave of a Pictish prince |
| gynmássed.                          | (12) | in Gwynasedd's loam (?)       |
| yny   dá lív   llýchur.             | (6)  | Where the Lliw joins the      |
|                                     |      | Llychwr,                      |
| Ig kelli   uríauael   bet gýrthmul. | (9)  | In Briafael's Grove is Gyrth- |
|                                     |      | mul's grave.                  |

The *pridein* of the MS. is probably to be altered here into *Priden*, of which an older spelling occurs as *Priten* in the Nennian Genealogies (*Cymmrodor*, ix, 179), and to be taken as assonating not only with *unpen*, but also with *Gynmassed*: compare the case of *Llychur* and *Gyrthmul* in the very next lines. To get the last of them into seven syllables, one would have had to substitute a monosyllable such as *wic* (in *Kelli wic*) for *Briafael*. On Welsh ground there is no warrant for treating the latter name (pp. 7, 8) even as a dissyllable, though it has come to that at St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire. So here remains a line of nine syllables to be accounted for in the same way as

the others of eight to which attention has been called; and it will perhaps suffice at this point to say, that quite a sprinkling of these lines of eights and nines are to be found closing the englyns in the *Red Book* portions of Skene's volume ii: one may indicate at random pages 222, 223, 238, 246, 254, 286, 290—the last mentioned has three instances in point occurring in succession. I draw no distinction between the lines of eight syllables and those of nine, for I regard them both alike as being simply part-hexameters, approximately half hexameters, with all the option which that carries with it as to the feet on which the metre moves.

Just a word by way of recapitulation as to the bearing on Welsh verse of the quantitative scansion usual in classical Latin. A trace of that remote influence has been suspected in connection with the appearance of a dissyllabic fourth foot in the heptameter englyn: see p. 114, where also were cited the words *Píev | y bét | hún* with a scansion which cannot be natural to anyone possessed of any sense of Welsh rhythm. Minuter study of the mass of materials available may result in detecting more traces of the Latin influence in question, and possibly lead to a revised scansion of some of the inscriptions in the first part of this volume. I should be glad to find it filling the lacuna (p. 4) to which I had to confess at the outset. In the meantime one feels on firm ground when relying on the evidence inseparable from the fifth (or sixth) syllable fixture (pp. 117, 118). For though that does not in Welsh always imply a cæsure so much as what would be technically termed a diæresis, and though it is not located according to the same scansional reckoning, it has had its place in the englyn absolutely determined by the penthemimeral cæsure of the Latin hexameter. One has only to add that a form of the hephthemimeral cæsure is still

the cæsura strictly and par excellence in certain englyns, being in fact an instance of the *gwant* of Welsh metrical terminology, to be mentioned later.

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iv. CERTAIN CONTENTS OF THE "BLACK BOOK".

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Having attempted to classify the *Black Book* Englyns of the Graves, a short survey may be useful of the other poems in point in that manuscript, but it must be premised that hardly one of them can be completely classified without some amount of emendation in the text; and frequently that lies beyond my competence:—

- Poem     xv. This consists of a few hexameter englyns of the two kinds, bisectual and trisectual.
- „        xx. This is of the same description, and is ascribed to Elaeth, who is supposed to have lived in the sixth century. The englyns are here headed *kygogion*, the plural of the word *cynghog*, which probably meant a burdock. It here refers to the fact of the stanzas hanging together by the second stanza being made to begin with a word or two repeated from the last line of the first; and so on to the end, which consists of the word that begins the poem.
- „        xxi. This is also ascribed to Elaeth, and consists of seven englyns, which, with one or two doubtful exceptions, are hexametric and trisect. They are all four-lined, that is, each ends with a pair of half-pentameters: in other words each whole englyn represents in its way a complete elegiac couplet in Latin.

- Poem    xxii. The subject of this poem was Geraint son of Erbin, and it consists of eighteen stanzas, which, with one exception, are hexametric, including among them a number of flat-footed instances: *see* p. 122. But the text requires editing, a task for which some help may be derived from a version existing in the *Red Book* and printed in Skene's volume ii, pp. 274-7.
- „        xxiv. This consists of ten englyns, all of four lines each, as in the case of poem xxi. The first nine are hexametric, but the tenth seems to be heptametric.
- „        xxv. This is a fragment which begins with two englyns hexametric and trisect.
- „        xxvi. This is a dialogue with Yscolan: it begins with hexameter englyns of both kinds; but it soon becomes too obscure to classify.
- „        xxvii. Under this number Skene has included two poems, of which the first consists of thirteen hexameter englyns, but mostly flat. The second consists of eight englyns, of which seven are hexametric and trisect, with the exception of one which seems bisect. At the end comes an eighth englyn, which seems to be heptametric.
- „        xxx. This consists of thirty-seven englyns of the three kinds, including a sprinkling of flat ones.
- „        xxxiii. A dialogue between Gwyn ab Nûd and Gwydno Garanhir, consisting of twenty-two englyns, hexametric of the two kinds with flat ones interspersed.
- „        xxxv. This consists of a dialogue between Taliessin



- Poem xxxv. and Ugnach son of Mydno, in eleven englyns, some bisectual and some flat.
- „ xxxvi. This consists of five four-lined englyns, all apparently heptametric.
- „ xxxviii. Nine englyns of the three kinds on the inundation of Seithennin's realm. The difficulties connected with this poem will be found discussed last by M. Loth, in the *Revue Celtique*, xxiv, 349-64.
- „ xxxix. Twelve englyns of the three kinds, with a sprinkling of flat-footed ones as in some of the preceding poems. The subject is the names of Llywarch Hên's sons.

To go beyond the *Black Book*, it may be mentioned that series of englyns are comparatively rare in the Book of Aneurin or that of Taliessin, but in the former we have a handful occasionally, as for example, in strophe lxxiv, while the portions of the *Red Book* published by Skene consist nearly all of englyns, a large sprinkling of which is, however, of the flat variety.

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#### V. NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES.

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It is now possible to suggest emendations in the text of some of the Grave Englyns with more certainty. Stanzas 1, 4, 12, 15, 20, 21, 25, 26, 39, 48, and 65 have already been mentioned, and it is now proposed to examine all the rest of that series in so far as they are found to present metrical difficulties. Taking the englyns in their order, I shall have opportunities of indicating, among other things, some of the scribe's characteristic errors:—

Englyn 2. As englyn 3 shows that *llesseint* was three syllables, the second half of the hexameter

- Englyn 2. in this one is too long: it would be metrically righted by reading *dial* for *yntial*.
- „ 5. The three flat feet “*yny diffuis graeande*” have a syllable too many contributing to a dactyl which is not required, so I propose to read *graeande*, after the analogy of *daer*, *daerin* for *daear*, *daierin*. As to the length of the last line see p. 123 above.
- „ 7. Here for *tonnev* read *tonn*, and the result will be a tolerable heptameter englyn, which would be metrically improved by omitting the first *bet*; but it is not obligatory to do so.
- „ 9. Read *Clytuo idin* as three syllables, and so in englyn 11, or else pass it as in the case of englyn 7. The man is otherwise called *Clydno Eidin*; see *The Welsh Laws*, i, 104; Skene, i, 167, 174; ii, 394.
- „ 11. For *Piev y* and *Pieu ir* read *Pieu ’r* everywhere, except where “*Piev y bet hun*” (also “*Pieu ir bet hun*” in englyn 34) is required for the fifth syllable fixture in trisectual englyns, such as Nos. 34, 49, and perhaps 48, as to which see pp. 110, 114.
- „ 13. Drop *bet* as in the case of *Ryðderch* in the pentameter, and for *Owein* read *Owen*: compare *Priden* for *Pridein*, p. 123. The whole will then run thus:—

|                               |                                                |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Owen ab urien im pedryal      | Owen ab Urien at Pedrual <sup>1</sup> is known |
| bid. (10)                     | to be,                                         |
| dan gverid llan morvael. (6)  | Beneath Llan Morvael’s mould,                  |
| in abererch riderch hael. (7) | At Abererch is Rhydderch Hael.                 |

<sup>1</sup> Where this Pedrual was is uncertain, but there is a Pont *Betrual* on the Cerrig y Drudion road to Ruthin, and there is a Rhos *Bedrual* outside Carnarvon on the Llanberis road. In englyn 63 the word is

Englyn 27. Here it is easier to lengthen than to shorten : probably words have dropped out at the end of the MS. line ending with *gwestedin* : some such as “tir kin6il in” would set the metre right, except perhaps as regards the rhymes. Compare the note on englyn 50. *Cynwyl* Gaeo is a well-known parish in Carmarthenshire.

„ 28, 29. *Guyr* has been inserted above the line after *guanas* in englyn 28, where it is inadmissible : it should come after the *guanas* in the line below. There is a Gwanas near Dolgelley, but Gwanas Gwyr should be somewhere in Gower, which as the land of Goire, Goirre or Gorre, is famous as one of the realms of enchantment in some of the French romances : see Rhys's *Arthurian Legend*, p. 160 and *passim*. The rhyming of *dioes* with *neges* suggests that here the former word was meant to be treated as *diôës*, though elsewhere it is found rhyming with *egroes* ‘berries of the dog rose’ : see *Skene*, ii, 134—it occurs also at pp. 159, 230. It belongs to the verb ‘to be’ and stands for the third person singular or plural

written *Pedriwal*, which stands to *Pedrual* as *Rhiwabon* to *Rhuabon*, on which see *Celtic Folklore*, p. 225. These forms seem to converge on an earlier *petri-wal*, meaning either ‘provided with four walls’ or ‘a four-walled structure’, with a *wal* apparently borrowed from English, whence our ordinary Welsh *gwal* ‘a wall’. The native word was *gwawl*, found written *guanul* in the Nennian *Historia Brittonum* (Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, p. 165) and corresponding to the Irish *fál* of the same meaning. It is, however, possible that here the early *wāl*-, which yielded *gwawl* as a monosyllable, was shortened into *wol*, *wal*, when it came to be unaccented; that is to say, the borrowing from English may not have taken place here at all.

Englyn 29. of the indicative present, here used in a past sense. It corresponds to the *deuz* in Breton locutions rendering 'have': see Legonidec's *Grammar* prefixed to his Dictionary (St. Brieuc, 1850) pp. 32, 33. Thus *a dioes*, Skene, ii, p. 230, 'is there to them,'<sup>1</sup> have they', corresponds to the first person singular *am oes* (p. 54) 'is there to me, have I'.

- „ 30. Omit *ry* in the half-pentameter: it is unnecessary and mars the metre. On account of the romantic interest attaching to Gower I append a provisional rendering of the two englyns in question:—

The long graves on Gwanas in Gower—

He whose it was the men [to know] found not  
Who they or what their business.

Oeth and Anoeth's host were they, who at night  
Grew younger men, younger striplings:  
Whoso them seeks let him Gwanas dig.

- „ 35. The half pentameter is three syllables too long: strike out the words *oet hvnnv*, which

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *a dioes* should here be rendered 'is there to her', for the noun is the feminine *civtabt* 'civitas', and the lines run as follows, with *g6abt* corrected into *gna6t*:—

|                          |                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A chiwta6t plant adaf    | And the city of Adam's children,      |
| A henynt oe gna6t.       | That are of his flesh descended—      |
| A dioes g6aret hyt ura6t | Is there for it deliverance ere Doom? |

Rendered 'for it' and not 'for them', it recalls the passage in the *Book of Taliessin, ibid.*, p. 134.

|                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| Pan y6 rud egroes.  | Why is the dogrose berry red?    |
| Neu wreic ae dioes. | Or the woman to whom it belongs? |

The rendering is a mere guess, but how the 'woman' comes in is, perhaps, explained by Dr. Davies when in his Dictionary he identifies *egroes* with *Aeron mieri Mair* 'the fruit of the brambles of Mary', which probably involves an ancient allusion to the Virgin.

- Englyn 35. shew that the scribe had no notion of the metre. "Gur guir y neb ny rotes," 'A man that gave no one his rights' is crisper and fitter for the verse: it refers to the cunning magician Gwydion ab Dôn.
- „ 36. There is a syllable too many in the first two lines: they would come right if one omitted the second *bet*, for they would have the cæsura usual in the fourth foot.
- „ 38. The scribe repeats the full description of Beidauc in this englyn and he has also brought in *yv hun* 'this is' without any need: read simply "Beidauc ab Emer Llydau".
- „ 45. The first line is a syllable short, and might be set right by reading *y glav* for *glav*; but the scribe has made a hash of the half pentameter, which he gives as "Dyliei kynon yno y kiniav" 'There Cynon ought to have his dinner', instead of "Dliei Kynon y kuinav" 'Him Cynon should bewail'. Whether the names Elchwith and Meuetauc, however, should be allowed to stand it is hard to say; for we happen to have a *Red Book* version of this englyn (*Skene*, ii, 291) in which they are different. The latter text begins not with *bet*, but with *tom* (from the Latin *tumba*), whence the derivative *tomen*, as in *Tomen y Bala* 'the Bala Mound'. The englyn runs thus, with *dyliei* corrected into *dliei*:—

Tom elwithan neus gôlych  
gla6  
maes maodyn y danaw:  
Dliei gynon y gôyna6

Elwyddan's tomb drenched by the  
rain—  
Beneath it lies Maodyn's plain:  
Him Cynon is bound to bewail.

Englyn 45. There is a well known house called Bod Elwydan in the Vale of Clwyd.

- „ 46. This playful englyn is somewhat out of joint, and looks at first as if it had to do with *ew* and *eitew* or yew and ivy. Perhaps it might be restored somewhat as follows:—

|                                        |                                 |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Pieu 'r   bet hun a'r   bet hun.   (7) | Whose grave is this, and this ? |
| gowin   ymi. mi   ae gun.    (7)       | Ask me for I know :             |
| Bet eitew   neut ew oet   hun.    (7)  | Eiddef's grave—this was it—     |
| a bet ei   dal tal ys   cun.    (7)    | And Eidal's of lofty (?) brows. |

Englyn 47. This englyn speaks of the same two men, Eidef and Eidal, and it is to be noticed that *Eidal* was to assonate with the *all* of *alltudion*, which it could hardly have done at any time after *alt* had become *allt*. In the half pentameter read *meib* for *meibon*.

- „ 50. This offers considerable difficulty : it ends with two lines of eight syllables each, as to which see p. 123 ; and the beginning looks as if a heptameter was intended, thus:—  
 . Bet sílit | dýwal | ined | rýwuy lé|. But the three flat feet which should follow to form the second line of six syllables, are wholly wanting. When this is compared with the notes on englyns 27 and 59, one begins to suspect that the scribe had set himself to work to cut the stanzas of four lines down to abortions of three ; for such they are, seeing that they correspond to no metre as they stand.

- „ 53. This is too long, and either *ywinder* should be omitted, when the result would be a hexameter, or else for *daear* read *daer* : this would allow the two first lines to be re-

- Englyn 53. garded as a heptameter, and that is on the whole preferable. In the half pentameter either *y amser* is to be sounded *īamser*, or else the first *wu* is to be struck out—this is probably better.
- „ 55. The scribe has written “bet ruyw yv humnv mab rigenev”, which is two syllables too long: he would seem to have misunderstood an *ev* or *ew* in his original for the verb *yv*, for which he then supplied a subject *hunnv*: so read “bet ruyw ew mab rigenev”, ‘a king’s grave that, Rigeneu’s son’s’. The half pentameter is also probably longer than the original, and should accordingly be corrected into “digonei da ar y arwev”.
- „ 56. According to the analogy of *Gurthëyrn* in englyn 40 *Breint* should probably be treated as *Brëeint*, or *Brïeint*.
- „ 59. Here the scribe seems to have omitted the last third of a trisected hexameter, and we have no data for supplying it. The englyn should have four lines: compare the note on No. 50. I can make nothing of *diwinvin* but the possible name *Dyfnwryn* with which I have not met anywhere else. *Tir guennle* is possibly what is locally called *Tir Gwenlli*, a field about a mile south-south-west of the church of St. Michael, Cwm Du, in the Vale of the Usk. The late Welsh historian, Thomas Price, was vicar some time ago of the parish, and he has left it on record that the inscribed stone reading “Catacus hic iacit filius Tegernacus” (p. 49), was found in Tir Gwenlli: see Westwood, p. 55. In



Englyn 59. that case, *Gwenlli* may be for an older *Gwenlle*, and that for *Gwennlleu* equating with the Irish name *Findlug*, genitive *Findloga*. But *Hirgweun* also suggests itself.

„ 60. Scan “mal y mae 'ny kystut” with *ny* ‘in his’ as in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 120, and treat the half pentameter as “ae clathei ew caffi but”.

„ 61. *Oet* is probably to be omitted as a needless insertion made by the scribe: read accordingly, “Ri ew Riogan ae gvant”, ‘a king he, Rhiogan slew him’. The abruptness of the syntax is to be compared with that of such epitaphs as *Cunogusi hic iacit* ‘the grave of Congus: here he lies’, p. 89.

„ 63. Scan thus:—

Pieu 'r | bet ped | rival || (6)

ae ped | warmein am | y tal || : (7)

and see the notes on Nos. 11 and 13.

„ 66. This appears to refer to the fairy chief Llwyd or Llwydeu son of Celcoed, as to whom one should read, beside the *Mabinogion*, the correspondence reprinted in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1904, pp. 33-48. The latter goes to establish his connection with the north-west corner of Pembrokeshire known as Cemes or Kemesland. If the englyn about Llwyd was meant to end with a half pentameter one should probably read *o* or *in* for *ino*; but it may be allowed to stand with the exceptions mentioned at p. 123.

„ 67. In the latter part of the hexameter one of the

- Englyn 67. *y*'s has to be omitted: if the second, we should then read "y rug guerid ae derv", which looks as if it meant 'between the Forth and its oaks', wherever that might be. Also the half pentameter is a syllable too short and *brauc* is probably to be corrected into *bradauc*, as suggested not long ago by M. Loth.
- „ 70. *Earrwen* is an error for *Garrwen*: see the Triads, i, 60=ii, 17 (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, pp. 12, 14). It is noteworthy that *Garrwen* and the ladies mentioned with her are the only women commemorated in the entire series of seventy-three englyns.
- „ 71. *Gyhoret* is probably to be corrected into *Cyhoret*; and in that case the verse "yn ryt gynan cyhoret" may be treated as meaning 'the grave of Cyhoret is at Rhyd Gynan'. Older forms of the personal name are *Cohorget* and *Conhorget*: see the *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, p. 33.
- „ 72. Scan "pieu 'r vedgor 'ssy yma", 'Whose is the tomb that is here?'

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#### vi. THE LATER ENGLYN.

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Something must now be said further concerning the later metres in Welsh, as representing the elegiac couplet in Latin, and the englyn with bisected hexameter may

conveniently be taken first. The englyn of three lines has long since grown out of favour, the ordinary englyn being made up of two lines covering the hexameter divided into two parts—here into two equal parts—and two other lines covering the pentameter divided likewise into halves. Mechanically, so to say, this is the simplest treatment of the elegiac couplet, and it may be illustrated by englyn 32 of the Grave Series, which, with the lines run continuously, would read as follows:—

Ebetu yn hir vynyt. yn llvyr y guyr lluosit.  
bet gvryen gvrlhyd enguavt. a llvytauc uab lliwelit.

The same with both lines halved stands thus:—

|                                     |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ebétu   yn hir   v́nytt.   (7)      | The graves on Long Mountain,        |
| yn llúyr   y gúyr llú óssit.    (7) | Multitudes know them well—          |
| bet gúryen   gúrlhyd                | The grave of Gwrien renowned for    |
| én guavt.    (7)                    | valour,                             |
| a llúytauc   uab lliwé lit.    (7)  | Llwyddog's grave, son of Lliwelydd. |

In this case the third line rhymes (imperfectly, unless one read *enguavc*) with a word in the middle of the next line, *enguaut*—*llvytauc*. Hence this metre takes its inexact name of ‘englyn unodl *cyrch*’, or ‘a *cyrch* englyn of one rhyme’, which it is not where there is a *cyrch* forming what is a second rhyme. The *cyrch* might occur, not in the second couplet, but in the first or even in both; however it was not essential that it should be present at all: in case of its absence the englyn runs on one rhyme, and is really *unodl*. This may be illustrated by citing from the Mabinogi of Math (*Mabinogion*, pp. 78, 79) the three englyns sung by Gwydion, when he, in quest of Llew Llawgyffes, detected him in the form of a wounded eagle among the topmost branches of a lofty oak near the twin Snowdonian lakes of Nantlle: with certain emendations I should write them thus, in later orthography:—

## 1.

- Dár a | dŷf y rwng | déulyn, | (7) An oak there grows between two lakes—  
 Gorddúfrych | áwyr | a glŷn: || (7) Darkly speckled are sky and glen—  
 Óni ddy | wétaf i | éu, || (7) If my words prove not untrue,  
 Aelóden | Llén<sup>1</sup> panŷw | hŷn. || (7) The members these of what is Llew.

## 2.

- Dár a | dŷf yn ardd | fáēs, | (7) An oak there grows in furrowed land—  
 Nis gwŷlch | gláw nis mŷy | Nor rain wets it nor melts it  
 táwdd tés<sup>2</sup>: || (7) heat the more—  
 Naw úgein | íng a bór | thes || (7) Nine score pangs among its branches  
 Yny bláen | Llén Llawgŷ | ffes. || (7) Have been the fate of Llew Llawgyffes.

## 3.

- Dár a | dŷf dán an | wáered, | (7) An oak there grows below a steep,  
 Mírein | médr im i | wéled: || (7) A lucky hit that I should Llew see!  
 Oni ddy | wétaf i | éu, || (7) If my words prove not untrue,  
 Ef dŷddaw | Llén i'm hár | ffed. || (7) On my lap will light my Llew.

The second englyn is the one exactly in point, for it rhymes at the end of the lines only, whereas the other two have a *cyrch* rhyme in the fourth line. The difference between the

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that in these verses *Llew* goes by the older version of his name *Lleu*, the correct equivalent of the Irish *Lug*, genitive *Loga*: compare the Gaulish gods called the *Lugoves* (*C. I. L.*, ii, No. 2,818). Lastly, with the unusual adjective *gorddúfrych* compare *oer ddufrych* 'cold and darkly speckled' occurring in D. ab Gwilym's reply to Gruffydd Gryg, poem cxxvij.

<sup>2</sup> What the MS. has is "nys m6 y ta6d", and it is not certain whether "nys m6y ta6d tes" or "nys m6yta6d tes" is to be preferred as the emendation required. In either case the accent here, as also in some other cases, such as some of Cynddelw's englyns about to be referred to, reminds one more of the pentameter than of the hexameter; and its bearing on the question of pentameter englyns, touched upon at p. 122, is not to be overlooked.

three must have been one of choice, and one important point on which they agree with englyn 32 is that they offer no strong dactyl in the second line of any one of the instances, that is, where it might be most naturally looked for, but we have passable dactyls in the first lines of the Math instances: in other terms they approach the level of the flat feet already discussed (p. 121). So the following of Goronwy Owen's ranks, perhaps, above the average in this respect: *see* Robert Jones of Rotherhithe's edition of that poet's works (London, 1876), p. 134:—

|                                        |                                  |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dŵe Ru fēinwyr dorf   ūnwaith   (7)    | Once the Romans came, a host     |
| I dŵliaw 'n   hédd, di léu 'n          | Our peace to lessen, our tongue  |
| hiáith    (7)                          | to kill,                         |
| Hyd na roes   Duw Ion o'i   rad,   (7) | Till God the Lord, of his grace, |
| O'r daliad   wared eil waith.   (7)    | From their grip set free the     |
|                                        | race.                            |

On the whole a somewhat similar account has to be given of the *proest* englyn, but now and then one meets with an example with the dactyl in its proper place, as in the following, which is one of Cyndelw's englyns to Madog ab Maredudd: *see* the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 211<sup>a</sup>:—

|                                          |                                       |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Mádawg ai cēidw can úrdas (7)            | Madog in lordly state doth hold       |
| Bryn di órmail di órmes    (7)           | A hill unsieged, unfought,            |
| Bré úchel   bráint ardáng os    (7)      | A lofty height, by right conspicuous, |
| Llé tryddar   Lléch Ysgar   llŷs.    (7) | A scene of life is Llech Ysgar        |
|                                          | Court.                                |

A glance at the end of the lines in this englyn will serve to show what is meant by the term *proest* in Welsh. Some of the proests vary the vowel from rhyme to rhyme (*proest cyfnewidiog*), and some run on alternate lines (*proest cadwynog*). In none of its forms is this metre much used, and the modern tendency is, perhaps, to make the verses end monosyllabically, though that ending is found eschewed altogether in some instances, such as the

following given in Rhys Jones's *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Shrewsbury, 1773), p. 274, as sung by the sixteenth century poet William Llŷn :—

|                                          |                                               |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Ámryw   énwog mawr   wíwydd    (7)       | He of manifold name, he of<br>the great vine— |
| A máwr   énw am a   ránnodd    (7)       | Great is his name for his gifts,              |
| A máwr iáwn   ymró Wŷ   nedd,    (7)     | Very great within the bounds<br>of Gwynedd,   |
| Amrói i weín   iaid Meiríón   ydd    (7) | For his gifts to the poor of<br>Merioneth.    |

The origin of these metres having been early forgotten,<sup>1</sup> the tendency seems to have been to efface the contrast between the hexametric and pentametric portions of the englyn. On the whole the feet of the former became dissyllabic, with little or nothing left to relieve their flatness, except perhaps the rhyme; but even this, when it happens to be proest, can hardly be held to appeal to many. For more instances of the old proest, *see* Cyndelw's poems in the *Myvyrian*, especially pp. 210, 211, 218, 229, 254.

We now come to the later representatives of the englyn of the trisectual kind, and this also the grammarians call an englyn unodl or one-rhyme englyn, for the four lines of which it consists have now one and the same final rhyme, and the first line has a "gair cyrch" (p. 111). But that has by no means been always the case, as witness Grave Englyn No. 4, quoted at p. 113, where there is no proper "gair cyrch", and where there are two rhymes, one in *en* and the other in *o*. Englyn 7 of the same series is similar, and so are others which need not be enumerated. The grammarians compare the englyn to a winged arrow, the first two lines representing the hexameter or heptameter being called the *paladr* or shaft, while the two half penta-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly "forgotten" is not the word to use, *see* the last footnote.

meters are variously called *pen* ‘the head of the arrow’ or else its *esgyll* or wings. So much as to the technical terms in use: here, as in the previous kind of englyn, the pentameter is cut up into two equal parts forming the *esgyll*. The hexameter also is divided into two parts in the *paladr* but they are of unequal lengths, the first or long line being originally made to cover the first two-thirds approximately of the hexameter, while the second or short line covers the remainder. The figures for the lengths of the four lines of this englyn have long been fixed at 10, 6, 7, 7. How the sevens were arrived at has already been surmised (p. 109), and so in point of fact has the case of the ten, namely, when the fifth (or sixth) syllable fixture was traced to the Latin penthemimeral cæsure. For five or six syllables doubled may have suggested a convenient length for the first line of the englyn; but the englyns with the cæsure in the fourth foot would lead with still greater certainty to 10 and 6. The same result, however, may have been even more simply and exactly arrived at from another side, to wit that of the heptameter, which has also a right to be considered here. For the chief break in the heptameter or Archilochian verse occurs after the fourth or last foot of the dactylic tetrameter and before the three dissyllabic or flat feet following (pp. 91, 112). The former portion of four feet, of which the fourth must always be trisyllabic, would yield a verse ranging from nine to twelve syllables, and likely to converge on an average of ten as the predominant figure. Lastly, the rest of the heptameter, consisting of the three flat feet, counted six, neither more nor less. On the whole then it appears as if the heptameter had more to say to these figures than the hexameter, and that the measurements of the former have been superinduced on the latter to produce the uniformity which has been secured. Let us



take as an instance the first englyn of D. ab Gwilym's elegy to his uncle and teacher in the poetic art, a man whom he regarded as the leading authority in Dyfed or the Land of Enchantment as he playfully calls it in reference to the *Mabinogion* story of Manawydan and Llwyd son of Celcoed: *see* poem ccxxxii:—

|                                                   |                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Dyfed a   siomed.   o symud   ei<br>mawredd, (11) | Dyfed is grieved, her greatness<br>gone,   |
| Am er   yr bro   yr Hud;    (6)                   | The Eagle of the Land of En-<br>chantment; |
| Doe wiwdymp   yn dywed  <br>-ud,    (7)           | Yesterday, happy time, he could<br>speak—  |
| Hyddawn fodd,   a heddyw'n  <br>fud.    (7)       | And eloquently—to day is he<br>mute.       |

Here the first line has eleven syllables, but in most of Ab Gwilym's englyns it counts only ten. But to return to the cæsura or break in the Archilochian verse just before the three trochaics, early Brythonic versifiers observed it, for we see it in the case of the Llech Idris inscription (pp. 93, 112) in the trouble which the inscriber took to show that he divided the heptameter thus:—

Hic in tumulo jacit Porïus  
homo planus fuit.

The break par excellence was after *Porïus*, whereas that after the fifth syllable was the previous break, a pre-cæsura so to say, and our Welsh bards inherited for these two breaks the technical terms *gwant* and *rhagwant* 'cæsura and præ-cæsura', where *gwant* (p. 125) is of the same origin as *guan-u* 'to pierce or run through'. When, however, it became usual to cut the heptameter into two lines, the term *gwant* was no longer required, as the break was sufficiently indicated by the ending there of the line; but the previous and lesser break continued to be called *rhagwant* to the great perplexity of the grammarians of a later age.

For if there was a *rhagwant*, where was the *gwant*? They could not find it, and eventually they committed the blunder of identifying the *rhagwant* not with a break at all but with a syllable, that is to say with the fifth syllable: thus in Ab Gwilym's englyn the *ed* of *siomed* would be the *rhagwant* and the *ed* of Dyfed which rhymed with it would be the *gwant*. The next step was a logical one, which Robert Davies took, *loc. cit.*, p. 126, namely, that of calling the first *ed* the *rhagwant* 'præ-cæsura' and the second one the *gwant*, an error which Dr. J. D. Rhys and Simwnt Fychan avoided. For the former the *rhagwant*—he chose to call it also *rhagwân* and *rhagwânt*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 159, 164—was the fifth syllable, to which he assigned one or two attributes under three or four names (pp. 163, 164), such as *gosodiad* 'fixture', *dodiad* 'setting', or *rhoðiad* 'datum', and *gorffwysfu* 'rest', also *pausa*.<sup>1</sup> Simwnt knowing his business at first hand was less influenced by the nebulous opinions of others, and he came within a *cyrch* of hitting the mark as to the *gwant*, which he calls *gwahan* 'a separation', in spite of his applying the term to a syllable. One of his instances (*loc. cit.*, p. lxvii) runs as follows:—

|                                   |                                             |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Dylýnais   klýwvais   val y klýw  | Followed, wounded have I,                   |
| déukant   (10)                    | as hundreds hear,                           |
| Y dék af o   ddýn býw,    (6)     | The fairest of living maidens;              |
| Dólor gór modd am dó ddyw,    (7) | Beyond measure am I punished—               |
| Dýlyn prýd   éwyn príd ýw.    (7) | The foam-like fair to follow costs me dear. |

---

<sup>1</sup> I am very hazy as to the exact meaning which Dr. Rhys attached to the names that he piled on the heavy-laden *rhagwant*: he seems to have had the term *thesis* of Latin verse in his mind. But he went out of his way to complicate matters by making *gwant* and *rhagwant* words of measurement; for he would have called *Dyfed* a *gwant* of two syllables and a *siomed* a *rhagwant* of three syllables (pp. 164, 165). He was also muddle-headed enough to discover *gwant* and *rhagwant* in the second line of an englyn, pp. 165, 166.

Thereon Simwnt remarks that the *cyrch* word is *deukant*, so that the rhyme portion of the line ends with the eighth syllable *klyw*; and that ending, he says, is called *gwahan*, 'separation'. To whom he alludes as so calling and so placing the *gwahan* does not appear; but it was a mistake, though a lesser one, in any case. For *klyw* does not end the line or even the foot to which it belongs. The englyn being heptametric, the fourth foot must be trisyllabic, and the *gwant* was the break after *deukant*, the word really ending the line. The fixing of the exact place of the rhyme and the number of syllables to form the overflow is arbitrary. The explanation, probably, is that the structure of the englyn was complete long before any *cynghaned* or rhyme was thought necessary: that was something which was afterwards superinduced.

This leads to a passing mention of a somewhat cognate error of the bards, as to which, however, the grammarians were fairly sound. Now when the fifth syllable of the englyn rhymed with a previous one, as in the case of *klwyvais* with *dyllynais*, there was a *gorffwysfa* or rest after the fifth syllable, that is as I understand it, a short break after it. Originally this had nothing to do with the rhyme: the break was to be there whether there was rhyme or not. Simwnt was clear on this point (p. lxvij), and Rhys was fairly so; but he was too shaky to pronounce definitely on an englyn badly constructed in this respect by Guto'r Glyn, whom he quotes (p. 164) introducing an instance with the following *paladr* or shaft:—

|    |                                 |                                 |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Da | génnym   i'w deg   ynys         | We are pleased to his fair isle |
|    | draw rédeg   (10)               | to hie                          |
|    | Drŵy or   éudir   Pówys.    (6) | Across the best land of Powys.  |

At the same time that he thought the englyn singular he wrote of the fifth syllable *deg* as having a *gorffwysfa* 'rest'

or *pausa*, which is impossible, as the word is an adjective inseparable from the noun it precedes: it is not followed by a rest or a break, but it ought. From the point of view of the history of the *englyn unodl* one may say that there should be a *rhagwant* in the true sense of that term, that is to say a break, not necessarily a very marked one, after the fifth syllable in every heptameter englyn. But this rule has not always been observed even by such a skilful versifier as our eighteenth century bard Goronwy Owen; and if one turns the leaves of Eifionydd's *Thousand Englyns* (Foulkes, Liverpool, 1881), and looks through the modern examples, one meets frequently with instances like this (p. 10):—

Anrhegiad | hael y | brigyn | i'r wefus |  
Yw 'r per | afal | dillyn. ||

Here the fifth syllable fixture is the proclitic article *y*, than which it would be hard to find a weaker vocable in the language. With this the next englyn is not parallel: it is cited at random from Jones and Williams's *Llyfr Adrodd* (Conway, 1904), p. 55, and the author was Gwallter Mechain, in the nineteenth century:—

|                                 |                                       |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Y nós   dýwell yn   distéwi,    | Night is come with her silent         |
| cáddug                          | glooms ;                              |
| Yn   cúddio Er   ýri,           | Snowdon his cap of cloud assumes ;    |
| Yr hául yng   ngwély'r hé   li, | The Sun in Ocean's bed asleep,        |
| A'r llóer yn   ariámu'r   lli.  | The Moon with silver paints the deep. |

Here there is no fifth syllable fixture or break, as the paladr consists of a hexameter with the *cæsura* or *gwant* in the fourth foot | *cáddug yn* | . It is to be noticed that Simwnt Vychan (p. lxvii) does not appear to have contemplated this kind of exception, but to have required a *gorffwyssva* or pause after the fifth syllable in all englyns not bisectual. To this position he was probably led by the

fact that englyns with the fourth-foot cæsura might have a break also after the fifth syllable: in the great majority of cases perhaps they actually had it.

The englyn last cited is a hexametric one, while Simwnt's instance (p. 142) is heptametric; and let that suffice to illustrate the fact that both kinds equally yield the englyn unodl of mediæval and modern bards. It is no more customary to regard them now as of different kinds than it was in the time of the scribe of the *Black Book* or that of the *Red Book*, where englyns of the several classes are found intermixed in one and the same poem or series. Nevertheless the difference is there, as will be seen at a glance by comparing the second lines: in the former it consisted of three flat feet—Y dék|af o | đýn býw|, while in the other Yn | cúddio Er | ýri | is a phrase with the dactylic spring of the hexameter. But the two kinds of trisectual englyn agree as to the fifth syllable fixture, where there is one, that it shall rhyme with one of the preceding syllables if the englyn depends on assonance rather than alliteration. It was pointed out at pp. 116, 117 that this was not always the case, but that it often rhymed with a subsequent word in the line, sometimes even with the principal rhyme of the stanza. The range of the rhyme of the fifth syllable has been eventually narrowed to the part of the line preceding that fixture; and the reason for this is to be sought in the growth of the rule that no subordinate rhyme is allowed to answer the principal rhyme, on the due prominence of which the unity of the stanza must largely depend.

There were ways, however, of avoiding the incidence of that rule. Thus in a metre called the *clogyrnach* we have the following arrangement: I quote from one of Goronwy Owen's elegies, *loc. cit.*, p. 113:—

|                                        |                               |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Os rhai   géirwyr   sy wyr             | As truthful men are, I ween,  |
| góran,    (8)                          | the best,                     |
| I fýd   sáint e   fúdes   ýntau    (8) | To the world of saints hath   |
|                                        | he flitted,                   |
| Dráw, ddífraw   ddwýfron, (5)          | Far away with fearless heart, |
| I   fad lwýsgad   lón (5)              | To the good, happy, bright    |
|                                        | array                         |
| A   ngýlion y   ngólau    (6)          | Of angels in light.           |

If one disregard the peculiarities of the *cynghanedd*, one will at once notice that the last three lines are essentially of the same metre as the shaft of an *englyn unodl*, as may be seen by a slightly different arrangement thus:—

|                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------|
| Dráw, ddífraw   ddwýfron, i   fad lwýsgad   lón (10) |
| A   ngýlion y   ngólen. (6)                          |

Lastly, another name for what is essentially of the same metre as the shaft of the *englyn* is “*Todaidd byr*” ‘Short *todaidd*’, and two such *todaids* with four lines of eight syllables intervening form the stanza called “*Byr a thodaidd*” ‘Short and liquid’. Here the lines of eight syllables represent possibly the fixing of a part-hexameter (consisting of four feet) at its minimum length. In that case we have in an early form the essential elements of this metre in the Caldey inscription (p. 57), the Latin of which as a whole may be represented thus:—

|                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Et sígno   crúcis   in íllam   fínxi    (10)              |
| Rógo   ómnibus   ambu   lántibus   íbi ex   órent    (15) |
| Pro an`ma   Catuóco   ni.    (7)                          |

## vii. THE ACCENTUAL HEXAMETER IN WELSH.

One of the chief uses of the accentual hexameter in Welsh, as has been sufficiently seen, is to form with one or two half-pentameters the different kinds of *englyn* which have occupied us, and, in that capacity, it is found not

infrequently replaced by the heptameter. But every now and then one comes across a poem made up of these hexameters or heptameters without the aid of other kinds of verse, or at any rate to any appreciable extent. Such for example is poem xxxvii in the *Black Book*, and the same remark applies to a number of the strophes of which the *Gododin* consists: take for instance 14, 24, 28-30, 41, 51, 78, 88-91, the last of which is a curious description of the hunter *Dinogad*. We have this kind of verse also in the *Book of Taliessin*, namely, in poem xxxvii.

This must be understood to apply to the trisected hexameter or heptameter; but a poem may consist also of bisected hexameters, that is to say, of couplets of about three feet each and counting from six syllables to nine per line. In the case of the bisectual englyn the hexameter portions came to be fixed as verses of seven syllables each, owing in part at least to the influence of the half-pentameter as suggested at p. 109. Here, however, where there is no half-pentameter, the lines in question have more commonly counted eight or nine, with a tendency to converge on eight. Let us take, as an example, poem xlvi in the *Book of Taliessin*: see Skene's volume ii, 203, and correct his *gwreys* into *gwrys*:—

|                                                        |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Nen vi lu óssa6c yn trýdar.                            | (8) |
| ny   pheid6n r6g   déuluheb   6ýar.   <sup>3</sup> (9) |     |
| Nen ví a élwir gor lássar.                             | (8) |
| vy gwrýs bu   énuys ym   héscar.                       | (8) |
| Nen ví ty wýssa6c yn   týwyll                          | (8) |
| am ríth6y   am dúy pen   káwell.                       | (8) |
| Nen ví eil   káwyl yn   árdú.                          | (8) |
| ny   phéid6n heb   6ýar r6g   déulu.                   | (9) |

Other poems in this metre in the *Book of Taliessin* seem to be i, ii, xxxviii, and portions of poem xiii in the *Black Book*: I said *seem* as they are less regular and more difficult to classify. The poet *Cyndelw* was rather fond of beginning



a strophe with a trisected hexameter or heptameter of 10, 6, and of singing then in couplets of bisected hexameters of an average length of eight syllables to a verse: instances will be found in his poems in the *Myvyrian*, vol. i, pp. 206-9, 226-8, 232-4, 234-8, and others needless to specify. This metre should be the one known to our grammarians as “Byr a thodaïd” ‘Short and liquid’; but another origin has just been suggested (p. 146) for that metre, and it turns out that in the older poetry the verses of eight syllables in point consisted of three feet, whereas the later instances given by the grammarians make the feet into four. As an example of the older form, take the following lines from a poem by Cyndelw to Rhys ab Gruffyd: *see* the *Myvyrian*, i, 228:—

|                                    |      |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Gwr a   déngys llát   a lláfneu    |      |
| rhútyon                            | (10) |
| Llew   drágon llyw   dréigyeu      | (6)  |
| Dreic éhofyn   éhag y   déruyn     | (8)  |
| Dragónrwyf   rwytwaleh gy gélyn    | (8)  |
| Dragónuart   dragónualch   uýtyn   | (8)  |
| Dragónawl   dra gánwyf   o dýn     | (8)  |
| Cánaf wáwd   yr práwd   ae prýn    | (8)  |
| Prif árglwyf   brólwyf bron héilyn | (8)  |

With this contrast the following verses, cited as his only instance by Robert Davies (p. 135), to wit from Goronwy Owen’s poem to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion:—

|                                          |      |
|------------------------------------------|------|
| E dd’wédwyd   adde wídion a   wíriwyd,   | (10) |
| O wárant wir   ffýddlon,                 | (6)  |
| Od ai’n   tíroedd   dan y   Táerion,     | (8)  |
| Ar fýr   dwyre   wir Fro dóron,          | (8)  |
| Cáem i’r   hénfri   Cýmru   hóenfron,    | (8)  |
| Llóegr yn   déthol   llúgryn   dóethion, | (8)  |
| Llawn dáwn dewr weileh Llúndain   díron  |      |
| ímpiau,                                  | (10) |
| Dewr   wéddlau Der wýddon.               | (6)  |

Here it will be seen that the place of the bisected hexa-

meters yielding verses of three feet, instinct with dactylic movement more than enough, has been taken by a metre counting four flat feet to the line. In other words, this is a case of two really different metres, and with it should, on the one hand, be compared what was suggested at p. 109 concerning the ‘cywyd llosgyrniog’, and on the other the mention at p. 121 of englyns without dactyls duly placed.

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#### viii. THE PENTAMETER THE CYWYDD.

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Thus far of the uses made of the hexameter in its Welsh form: next comes the pentameter, the use of which in the structure of the englyn has been sufficiently illustrated. Now, as an independent metre, the pentameter occurs only once in the *Black Book*, namely in the fragmentary poem which comes second in that manuscript, and consists of proverbial and pithy sayings. As it shows the same final and leading rhyme throughout—it happens to be the rhyme in *o*—the author seems to have regarded it as consisting of pentameters rather than half-pentameters, as will be seen from the following distich (Evans, 4<sup>b</sup>, Skene ii, 5):—

Níd ehá | la[e]th as tráeth | a[w]. || ny cháffar | ae hamhéu | o. ||  
 Ný llúit réu | uet y dí | reid. || Nýchéuir | búeid ar | ffó. ||

Not copious my treatment of what I find nobody to doubt.  
 The wicked's wealth is not weal: mass is not chanted in battle's rout.

This metre was known also in Irish, as will be seen from the following lines from some Ossianic poetry in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 154<sup>a</sup>. The text, with O'Curry's somewhat inexact translation, is quoted in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 158, 159, to the following effect:—

Ogum illia lia uas lecht, bali itéigtis fecht fir;  
 mac rig hErend rogaet and do gae gand os gabur gil.

“An Ogham in a stone, a stone over a grave, in the place where men were wont to pass ; the son of the king of Eire was there slain, by a mighty spear on a white horse’s back.” Here besides alliteration we have not only end-rhymes such as *fir* and *gil*, but also internal ones *lecht—fecht*, and—*gand*, but they are not carried through to the end, and the poem closes with two verses in which the internal rhyme responds to the final syllable, thus, *chloich—troich* and *glond—ogom* respectively. It should be explained that *ond* meant *onn*, and *ogom* meant *ogomm*, and further that such imperfect rhymes as *onn* and *omm*, *fir* and *gil*, have always been admissible in Irish verse.

This illustrates one of the ways of treating the pentameter, which on its Welsh side has already been noticed at pp. 102, 103, and here further illustrated by the lines just quoted from the second poem in the *Black Book*. The other way of treating it has been seen in all the later englyns, which uniformly end with two half-pentameters fixed as lines of seven syllables each. But besides serving to form the *esgyll* or wings of an englyn, a series of such couplets is recognised as an independent metre : in fact, ever since Ab Gwilym’s time it has been the most important and popular metre of all those here in question. I have heard it alleged that the cywyð was his invention, that is to say that he took what has in these pages been called the half-pentameters of the trisectual englyn as his model for a metre to consist wholly of couplets of that kind. The erroneousness of that conjecture is rendered probable, among other things, by the existence of the above-mentioned fragmentary poem in the *Black Book*. The cywyð couplet, whether forming part of an englyn or of a poem all cywyds, is subject practically to the same rules and shews the same peculiarities. One of the latter is this: either of the lines must end in an

accented syllable, which in Welsh mostly means that it must end with a monosyllable; but the other must not. Take for example the englyn cited from *Simwnt* at p. 142: it ends thus:

Dolur gormodd am dóddyw,  
Dylun pryd ewyn prid yw.

The question is, What can have been the origin of such a rule? I have sometimes heard it suggested that it is based on a system of accentuation which no longer prevails in the language; but I have never seen any successful attempt to reason that out. No doubt there has been a certain amount of change in Welsh accentuation; nevertheless the theorist gets into hopeless difficulties, and it looks more promising to attack the question rather from the historical point of view. The rule of varying the accent cannot be said to have been observed by the twelfth century poet *Cyndelw*; perhaps one might say that he was tending to it, though he was rather fond of having dissyllables of the same accent for his rhyming words in the position in point. Let us glance at the poems in the *Black Book* which consist of four-lined englyns: there are two such, namely xxiv (Evans, 39<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>, Skene ij, 40, 41), which is *Cyndelw*'s: it has ten englyns with the *cywyð* rhymes, aerev—dehev, drussad—gwenvlad, kerdaur—porthaur, tarianogion—meibon, gosteguch—glywuch, kywrisset—met, edirn—teeirn (read *teirn*), vytaw—ataf, glevrvit—wif, hirvlaut—naut. Here the rhyming words are imparisyllabic in five cases out of ten, while the other five are dissyllables. The other *Black Book* poem is xxj (Evans, 35<sup>b</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>, Skene, 36, 37) which is ascribed to *Elaeth* (p. 125): it consists of seven four-lined englyns, and the rhyming words in point are syberwid—imbit, clod—gorvod, atew—new, poeni—merthyri, cofion—gueriton, enbid—bid, poeino—weint—seint. Now the kind of rule which this suggests

is, that the word ending one line of the cywyð couplet should be a syllable shorter than the one ending the other, or, more exactly, that it should be at least one syllable shorter: in other terms the lines have major and minor rhyme-words and the accent follows suit. It is needless to say that this is very different from the present rule, that the minor rhyme-word must be a monosyllable, or at any rate a word accented on the ultima. Now there seems to be nothing in Welsh to suggest ending verses imparisyllabically: let us see whether there was nothing in the Latin pentameter that might possibly lead to that practice. In Latin itself the pentameter hardly ever ended in a monosyllable, but mostly in a dissyllable, sometimes in a trisyllable, than which it was oftener a quadrisyllable. On the other hand, the first half of the pentameter did sometimes end in a monosyllable. Take one of the school Arnold's stock instances: *Non tamen est cur sis tu mihi causa necis*. If we cut this verse up into two we have—

*Non tamen est cur sis  
tu mihi causa necis,*

with the final words *sis* and *necis*. If we further made the order of the half-pentameters optional we might have endings corresponding not to *sis—necis*, but, as it were, to *necis—sis*. That is what the Welsh would seem to have done, and the Latin pentameter would thus appear to have supplied the model of the imparisyllabic rhyme-words of the cywyð, though it took a long time to establish this as an inexorable rule.

It is an old notion of mine that the cywyð metre must be of one and the same origin as the Irish metre known as *deibhidhe*, whatever that origin might prove to be. Take the following instance from the *Book of the Dun Cow*, fo. 129<sup>n</sup> (Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 131):—

|                          |                                  |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Is tría ág dossib in rí  | For her sake the king will chase |
| inna heónu di Thethbí    | The birds away from Tethba       |
| ocus báidfid a dá ech    | And drown his pair of chargers   |
| illind locha dá Airbrech | In loch da Airbrech's waters.    |

More of this metre will be found for instance in the story of "The Exile of the Children of Usnech" in the same manuscript, and imperfect copies of poems in it have been found in the Milan and Priscian Codices: see Ebel's edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 951-53. In the instance just given the lines are seven syllables each with a major rhyme-word to the second and the fourth: all the instances are not so regular in the old manuscripts, but the metre becomes fixed with a minor termination to the first line of a couplet and a major one to the second, as will be seen at a glance in the instance given in O'Donovan's *Grammar of the Irish Language*, p. 419. Thus it will be seen that the conjecture offered as to the Welsh metre fits the Irish likewise: more correctly speaking it fits it, in one respect, even better; for Irish retains the fixed order of minor termination followed by a major one, as in the Latin line with *sis—necis*, and not optionally the other way about, as in Welsh. This explanation is offered as a mere conjecture, and the alternative, as far as I can see, is to suppose that here the Latin pentameter and a native metre came into contact, and have, as the result, been influenced by one another; for it is quite possible that there existed a native metre of the length in question, and that it was perhaps common to Welsh and Irish. But the complexion of the doubt is deepened by the consideration that Welsh and Irish may have influenced one another, not to say borrowed from one another's metrical systems, which is also conceivable.

Before dismissing the *cywyd* and the *englyn*, a word may not be out of place on those two terms. The former



we have already had (p. 104) in the loose sense of a lay or song, and the technical name for what has here been for brevity's sake called simply *cywyd* is *cywyd deuair hirion*, which may be rendered 'verse of two long couplets'. For there is another called *cywyd deuair fyrion*, 'verse of two short couplets,' as they consist of only four syllables each. The history of the word *cywyd* is obscure, but it may be of the same origin as certain Old Irish words which represent a compound *con-vid-* or *con-ved-*. One of them is *cobeden*, the native word for *conjugatio* in the grammatical sense of that term, and another, *in-chobaid*, is a gloss on the Latin adverb *concinnter*; also the derivative *cuibdius*, 'concinntitas', as to which see Ascoli's *Codice irlandese dell' Ambrosiana*, II, pp. cccij, cciiij. So one may perhaps treat the Welsh word as having been meant originally to convey the idea of words elegantly, artistically put together or set alongside of one another. Then as to *englyn* one may point out that it is also found written *ynglyn*, and that it is not to be severed from *glyn-u*, 'to stick, cleave, or adhere'. The root has the preposition *yn*, 'in', prefixed to it, so that one may say that the compound is formally equivalent to the Latin *inhærens*, and one naturally asks, to what does this exactly refer? The *englyn* is historically, as has been shown, of several kinds, and what those kinds have in common is that they require a half-pentameter or two to be tagged on to complete the stanza. So I infer that the term referred originally to the circumstance of the longer line having this pendant cleaving or adhering to it; and this is substantially the way in which Welsh grammarians have understood it. In any case it is needless, after what has been said already, to dwell on the highly artificial nature of the *englyn*, or to show how inconceivable it is that it should have come into existence in any early stage of a people's literary development. It argues a past of



prolonged familiarity of some kind or other with the art of verse-making.

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#### ix. THE HEXAMETER TRUNCATED.

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The metre most commonly evidenced by the inscriptions was found to be the one which consisted of a part-hexameter of four feet. So in Welsh the line ranges from eight syllables to twelve, with a tendency to converge on nine or ten. The lines of intermediate length include among them one of three dactyls, which, scanned in the quantitative way of Latin, would count as four feet, that is, three dissyllabic feet plus a dactyl : *see* pp. 70, 71, 124. A line preserving the two last feet of the hexameter is, of course, common enough, but it is often impossible to distinguish between it and the one ending with a dactyl. The latter appears to have been one of the most popular, owing, doubtless, in part to the fact that it formed the tetrameter portion of the archilochian verse, that is to say, the first line of the Welsh heptameter englyn. The favourite form of this line has its final dactyl accented as in the inscription (p. 58) :—

Bone|mímori | filli | Tribúni. ||

Put otherwise, it will stand thus:—

Bone|mímori | filli Tri|búni.||

But other accentuations of the two final feet are by no means excluded in Welsh. The following strophe from poem xvij in the *Black Book* (Evans, 25<sup>a</sup>, Skene, ii, 18, 19, but subject to a slight emendation) may be cited as illustrating several of the points here in question, among others the uncertainty as to the exact division of some of the lines into feet, as already suggested :—

|                                                            |                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Awállen   péren.   A prén  <br>mélin.    (9)               | Sweet apple-tree, wood of a<br>yellow hue,                  |
| A týw in   hál art.   heb árt<br>in   y chílchín.    (11)  | That grows in Halardd without<br>tilth around it—           |
| Amí dis   cogánaw   kád im   prý-<br>dín.    (10)          | I prophesy a battle among the<br>Prydyn                     |
| In ámvín   ev térwín   a guír  <br>dúlin.    (10)          | Holding their bounds against the<br>men of Dublin.          |
| Seith lóng y   déuant   dros<br>lyd   ánlín    (10)        | Seven shiploads they come over<br>a wide lake,              |
| A seith   cánt. dros   mór y  <br>oréskin.    (9)          | And seven hundred, across the<br>sea to invade.             |
| Orsául y   déuant.   nydánt y  <br>kénlin.    (10)         | Of the fleet so come there will<br>homeward sail            |
| Námuin.   seith llédwac   gwýdī  <br>ev lléttkint.    (10) | But seven ships, half manned, to<br>tell their dismal tale. |

Elsewhere in the *Black Book* the same metre will be found in poems v, vj, vij, x, xi, xiv, xvi, xvij, xxviii, xxxiv, in some of which the lines are varied by the occurrence of an occasional whole hexameter. Other poems, such as ix, also belong here, but they are partly too obscure to classify as they stand. Then as to our other old manuscripts, one may say that nearly the whole of the *Book of Taliessin* is in various forms of the curtailed hexameter, and similarly most of the *Gododin* in the *Book of Aneurin* is in that metre, whence presumably the name Gwawdodyn is given to two of the metres in D. ab Edmwnt's system. The Gwawdodyn now consists of one or more couplets (of nine syllables to a line) followed—formerly often preceded—by a couplet of 10, 9, with a *gair cyrch*, the unity of the whole being indicated by the stanza having one and the same principal rhyme throughout. As will have been already observed, no metrical difference of any significance attaches in this metre to the fact that one line happens to have ten syllables and another only nine. So it follows, as was perceived by J. D. Rhys, *loc. cit.*, pp. 196, 199, that no radical distinction can be drawn between the Gwawdodyn and the

verse known as “Hir a thodaid”, ‘Long and liquid’, which closes with a todaid couplet of 10, 10, preceded by other couplets of the same length and with the same principal rhyme throughout as in the Gwawdodyn. As an instance of the todaid couplet of the latter may be cited the following from one of Rhys’s examples, *loc. cit.*, p. 195 :—

Lléw blín | ym mýddin | máeddaí | wyr árfog ; || (10)

Llym fárehog | énwog a | ddigónaí. || (9)

Lion-like, chafing in battle’s array, he would buffet armed men ;  
Sharp-eyed knight, famous the feats he performed.

Compare with this the following from one of Robert Davies’s examples of a “Hir a thodaid, p. 136 :—

Ail Ólwen | lŵyswen | liósog | lýsoedd, || (10)

Áil a wnai | wlédodoedd, | Élen | Luédodog. || (9)

Another fair white Olwen art thou of many courts,  
Another Elen Lüyddog, a giver of banquets.

The cyrch rhyme which we have in the Gwawdodyn metre is not common in the old manuscripts here in question, such for example, as the *Book of Aneurin*. But we find it in the poems of Cyndelw, where the departure from the principal rhyme is very frequent, for example in his ‘Poem to God’: see the *Myvyrian*, i, 247<sup>a</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>, where no distinction between the Gwawdodyn and ‘Hir a thodaid’ seems to have been thought of.

Other treatments of the part hexameter might be mentioned: for instance, here and there one finds a great run on trisyllabic feet, as for example in the case of the first poem in the *Black Book*, where a very dactylic hexameter introduces other lines in which the dactyl plays an almost exclusive part, as follows :

Mor trúan | génhyf. mor | trúan a | déryv.

am | kéduyv a | cháduan. ||

Oed lláchar | kyuláuar | kyuláuan. ||

Oed ýscuid | o trýuruyd | o trýuan. ||

A somewhat similar description applies to poem xxxi in

the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 183): that is likewise introduced by a full hexameter of the same description. The principal use of this kind of verse appears to have been to diversify the movement of the lines, and it is not hard to understand why nothing of great length is found written in it in the *Black Book*. But a common treatment of the part-hexameter was to divide the verse of four feet into versicles of two, and to make them rhyme together and with the succeeding ones until you exhausted your special stock of assonances. This is a favourite metre in the *Book of Taliessin*: it occurs also in the *Gododin*, which in fact begins with it, and we have it in the *Black Book* in the dialogue which opens with poem xxxi (Evans, 47<sup>b</sup>-48<sup>b</sup>, Skene, ii, 50-3) as follows:—

Pa gúr yv | y pórtaur. || Gléluid | gauáelaur. || (11)

Pa gúr ae | góuin. || Áthur. a | chéi guín. || (10)

Who is the porter? Glewlwyd Great-grip.

Who is it that asks? Arthur and Cai the White.

On surveying the kind of verses grouped together under this heading one would at first sight be disposed to say, perhaps, that it is useless to examine them with a view to metre, that in a word it is no case of one metre at all, but rather of a collection of heterogeneous samples of metres. That would be, however, to run in the teeth of the fact, that the old writers of Welsh poetry by their manner of intermixing these verses in their poems tacitly treated them as of cognate origin. This now proves true, for on the application of the key of the hexameter the difficulties presented by the motley appearance of the examples is dissipated: they fall into their places as instances of the hexameter truncated in various ways. It is hard, perhaps, to think of any better proof that the key applied must be the right one: the unity of this metre is found in the accentual hexameter.

## X. THE LUXEMBOURG FOLIO.

The practice of writing certain Latin metres accentually has been here illustrated not only by our post-Roman epigraphy, but also by the Frampton Mosaics. From another side the subject may be said to have been approached in the *Grammatica Celtica*, namely, in the section entitled "Consonantia Latina", pp. 938-48,<sup>1</sup> which, with the help of illustrations, some of which reach back to St. Ambrose in the fourth century, goes to show how Celtic assonance and alliteration invaded Latin verse. This may be briefly supplemented by a note or two on the curious fragment known as the Luxembourg Folio: it was edited by me years ago in the *Revue Celtique*, i, 346-75 (and pp. 503, 504), where on the one hand such words as *regminat*, *regminant*, recall the *regmen* of the Frampton Mosaics, and, on the other, *novellus* reminds one of the Juvencus englyn with the word *nouel* for 'new'. The Latinity of the fragment is very peculiar and inseparable from the bombastic jargon of the so-called *Hisperica Famina*, which have been discussed at length by Professor Zimmer in the appendix to his *Nennius Vindicatus*. There he has endeavoured to shew that the home of the *Hisperica Famina* must have been one of the great monasteries in the south-west of Britain: he points more especially to Llantwit Major, the

<sup>1</sup> Here, among other things of special interest to the Welsh reader, may be mentioned, that our early bards' habit of running whole strophes on a single rhyme, is illustrated by long citations, pp. 940, 941, from St. Augustine, who died in 430. Lines also are quoted, p. 945, from the Irishman Columbanus, who died in 614, and some of them are so constructed that they show much the same system of rhymes as the Blegywryd hexameters discussed in chapter iii above.

great school of St. Illtud in the sixth century, and he has in view more particularly the best known of the Saint's pupils, namely, Gildas; for he thinks that the *Hisperica Famina* are to be traced rather to a Brython than to a Goidel, and it is not without interest here that Zimmer is prompted to call repeated attention to the dactylic style affected by Gildas and the Hisperic school. To return to the Luxembourg Folio, that is proved, by its Breton glosses, to come from Brittany, and in the *Grammatica Celtica* it is referred to the ninth century. The verses in the fragment consist mostly of accentual hexameters, complete and curtailed hexameters intermixed; but the glosses are preceded by a bit of dialogue which has the interest of being, it would seem, in hexameters and pentameters. Apparently it takes place between a pious widow and a man with whom she is in love: he will not marry her because she has been the wife of a previous husband. It runs thus, with the scanning marked:—

. . . . . con|gaudet | animus | meus  
 placu|isset | hoc in | domino | re[r]um . . | . . .  
       venis] | latus me|um || dulcis in|galis me|us ||  
 kalami|tas de me | recedit | ista<sup>1</sup> | nolo au|dire ;  
 si tibi | dilectat | nub[c]re | alium | virum per|quiris ;  
       rem die | ac noc|te || doleo | et fle|o ||  
 propter | caru[m] | virum | meum si | tibi me | fraudet |  
       non iaces | meum lat|us || dulcis in|galis me|us ||

SHE. . . . . my soul rejoices.

In the name of the Lord this had been pleasing [if true  
 That you come] to my side to be the sweet consort mine.

HE. The storm of my passion is over: I dislike those words of yours.  
 If it be your pleasure to marry, you seek another man.

SHE. The matter grieves me day and night, and with tears I mourn  
 Because of my dear husband, if he defraud me of charms for you,  
 That you lie not beside me the sweet consort mine.

---

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *ista verba*.

I have not succeeded in reading what comes immediately after *domino*, but it seems to begin with *re*, and *domino rerum* has been suggested to me by the Old Irish term ‘lord or prince of the elements’ as at the opening of Adamnan’s Vision *coimdin na n-dúla*: see Windisch’s *Irische Texte*, p. 169, and s.v. *dúil*. The key to the use of *latus meum* or *meum latus* for ‘at or to my side, beside me, by me’ is supplied by the Irish conjugated preposition *lium*, *lem*, ‘to me, with me, by me’, which consists of the neuter noun *leth* ‘side’ provided with a personal ending. This etymology of the Irish preposition has Stokes’s approval in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xii, 188, n. 2. Compare the similar use of *les*, *lez*, in French from Latin *latus* ‘side’, and its survival in such names as Plessis-lès-Tours and the like. If Gaulish and Brythonic made a similar use of the form corresponding to Irish *leth*, namely *letos*, one can hardly avoid the inference that the French use of *lès*, Provençal *latz* ‘by’, was suggested by Gaulish: at any rate the Italian *allato*, with the *ad* which it involves, fails to illustrate it. Lastly, there is some difficulty as to how subordinate clauses were introduced by the writer of the lines in question, but we have one clear instance in *non iaces*, so that, on the whole, I venture, though with great diffidence, to suggest the above as the sense of the fragmentary dialogue.

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#### xi. IRISH RHETORICS.

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It should be noticed that versification is not found confined to those of our inscriptions which may be regarded as of Brythonic origin. It extends to those of Goidelic origin in Britain; but, as far as I know, it has no place in Ogam inscriptions, whether in Britain or in Ireland, which



is just what the brevity of the Ogam legends would lead one to expect. On the contrary it is to be detected in Medieval Irish literature, especially in the passages, mostly unrhymed, which are termed *retoric*, that is to say *rhetoric*, in some of the more elaborate stories, for instance in the twelfth century MS. of the *Book of the Dun Cow*. That they are in some kind of verse has long been suspected, though hardly any of them have been written out successfully as verse by anybody. One of the nearest approaches to this was made by Windisch in the *Revue Celtique*, v, 389-91, 478, 479, where he has discussed three of the *retorics* occurring in the oldest Irish fairy tale on record, *Echtra Condla Chaim*. The text occurs on fo. 120 of the *Book of the Dun Cow*, and has been printed in Windisch's *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*, pp. 118-20. In the *Revue Celtique* his metrical arrangement of the first two makes them into 50 syllables each as follows:—

|                                                         |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Adgladadar mnái n-óic n-álaind socheneóil               | 11         |
| nad fresci bás na sentaid                               | 7          |
| ro charus Condla Rúad cotngairim do Maig Mell           | 6 + 6 = 12 |
| inid rí boadag bidsuthain rí cen gol cen maig inna thír | 8 + 8 = 16 |
| ó gabais flaith                                         | 4          |
| Tair lin a Chondlai Rúaid muinbriú chaindeldeirg        | 11         |
| [is] barr bude fordotá                                  | 7          |
| óas gnúis corcorda bidordan do rígdalbæ                 | 7 + 5 = 12 |
| má chotuméitis ní chrínfa do delb a hóitín a haldi      | 8 + 8 = 16 |
| co bráth m-brindach                                     | 4          |

I accept Windisch's readings, including the supplying of *is* at the beginning of his second stanza, and the scanning seems to be as follows, though there are other possibilities:

|                                                        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----|
| i. Adglad   adar   mnái n-óic   n-álaind   socheneóil  | 11 |
| nad fresci   bás na sen   taid                         | 7  |
| rocharus   Condla   Rúad cot   ngairim do   Maig Mell  | 12 |
| inid rí   bōadag bid   suthain rí   cen gol   cen maig | 13 |
| inna thír   ō gabais   flaith                          | 7  |

|                                                            |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| ii. Tair lim a   Chondlai Rūaid   mminbrie   chaindeldeirg | 11 |
| is barr bu   de fordo   tā                                 | 7  |
| ōas gnūis   corcorda   bid ordan   do rīg   delbæ          | 12 |
| ma chotum   ēitis nī   chrīnfa do   delb a   hōitiu        | 13 |
| a haldi   co brāth m-brind   ach                           | 7  |

He speaks to a young woman, fair and well-born,

Who awaits nor death nor old age :

I have loved Colla Roe and I call him to Moy Mell,

Where reigns Buadach, ever king, without wail or woe in his land

From the day he began to rule.

Come with me Colla Roe of the freckled neck and torch-red bloom,

Thou whose topmost locks are golden

Above thy purple brow, ever the adornment of thy kingly form—

Hark to me and never will that form lose its freshness

Or its beauty till the checkered day of doom.

Here each strophe consists of three curtailed hexameters and two half-pentameters ; but the next *retoric* is made up differently, and Windisch has split it into two of thirty-six syllables each, and further he has been obliged, in order to arrive at that symmetry, to omit a trisyllable *mordanaig*. I can discover no sufficient reason for either proceeding : the following is his arrangement :—

|                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Not álim a Choráin mórchetlaig                            | 9  |
| forbond dodomanic as dom móo airli                        | 11 |
| as dom moo eumachtu níth náchim thánic                    | 11 |
| o gabussa flaith.                                         | 5  |
| Mu imchomrue delb nemaicside                              | 9  |
| cotoméicnigidar immum mace rocháin                        | 11 |
| d'airchelad tre thoathbandu díml <sup>1</sup> laim rígdai | 11 |
| brechtaib <sup>2</sup> ban m-berir.                       | 5  |

In the manuscript this is one *retoric*, and the only emendation which I wish to make in the text is to omit the first *do* of *dodomanic* : then the whole will be found to consist

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *dí*.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. has *brectu*, but Windisch corrects it into *brechtaib*, which is perhaps better from the point of view of the sense.

of two full hexameters, two curtailed ones and a pentameter, as follows :—

- iii. Notālin | a Chorān | mōrchetlaig | mōrdānaig | forbond dom|ānie  
 as dom mōo | airli as | dom mōo | eumaehtu | nith nāchim | thānie |  
 o gabsu | flaith mu | imchomrue | delb nem|aieside |  
 cotomēic|nigidar | innum mace | rochāin | d airehelad |  
 tre thōath | bandu dim | lāim || rigdai brech|taib ban m-ber|ir. ||

Thy help, O Corán of great voice, of great gifts, I entreat to meet  
 a challenge

Such as till now, beyond my wit, beyond my power,

Never troubled my reign—no ease of combat but a form unseen

Me by force compelling in order to kidnap my comely son :

Through heathen tricks him women's spells from my royal hand  
 remove.

The remaining *retorics* in the story have not been discussed by Windisch, so far as I know, so I quote them in their order, premising that Corán the druid did as Conn the king bade him, that is to say, he drowned the voice of the fairy with his own singing; but as she was going away discomfited she threw Colla an apple on which he subsisted for a whole month : the apple grew no less while his longing for the fairy grew greater and greater, when at length she came again and addressed him in the following *retoric*, which seems to consist of three hexameters plus a line which as it stands seems a curtailed hexameter, though it is readily reducible to a pentameter, for instance, by omitting *du* :—

- iv. Nall suide | saides | Condla | eter | marbu du|thainai |  
 oc idnaid|in éca | nathmair. | Totchuret|ar<sup>1</sup> bii | bithbi |  
 at gērat | do dāinib | Tethrach | ardor|chiat each | dia  
 in dālaib | tathardai | eter du | gnathu | inmaini |

There is the seat where Colla sits among short lived mortals  
 Awaiting the terror of death. Thee the living claim, the ever living.  
 Thou art champion for Tethra's people : they behold thee every day

In thy father's (?) assemblies among thy familiar friends.

---

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *totchurcthar*.

When Conn heard these words spoken by the fairy he sent again to fetch Corán the druid, and the maiden addressed Conn in the following *retoric*, which would seem to allude to the subversion of druidism by St. Patrick. This time it consists of five curtailed hexameters, two of four feet each, and three of five, as follows:—

- v.           A Chuind | Chetcathaig | druidecht nīs | gradaigther |  
               ar is bec | rosoich for | messu ar | trāg mair. |  
 firiēn | co n-il | muinteraib | ilib ad | amraib |  
 motā | ticfa | a recht | conscēra | brichta |  
 drūad | tardechta | ar bélaib | demuín duib | dolbthig.

O Conn of the hundred Battles druidism is not liked,  
 For small the honour it hath reached on the Great Strand.  
 The just one with his retinues many, numerous and wonderful,  
 Will soon come and his law the spells of base druids destroy  
 Before the face of the demon, black and shape-shifting.

Then Conn addresses his son Colla in order to find what effect, if any, had been produced on him by the fairy. Colla confessed that though he loved his people, a longing for the woman had seized him. Thereupon she appeals to him in the following three *retorics*, of which the first consists of two hexameters, the second of a shortened hexameter and a complete one, and the third of a part-hexameter and a pentameter, as follows:—

- vi. Tathut | airunsur | ālaib | fri toind | t eólchaire | o fadib |  
       im loing | glano cond | rismāis | ma ro | ismaís síd | bōadaig |

Thou hast a pleasing remedy (?) for the tide of thy longing . . .  
 Should we get into my ship of glass soon should we reach Buadach's station.

- vii. Fil tīr n-aill | nad bu | messu do | saigid<sup>1</sup>  
       atchiū | tairnid in | grēin n-gil | cid cian | riefam rīa | n-adaig.

There is another land which to visit it were well :  
 The bright sun I see descending ; though far, we arrive before night.

---

<sup>1</sup> This line should probably be a hexameter, some such words as *a chondlai ruaid* having very possibly been dropped out at the beginning.

viii. Is ed a | tîr suba | tar menmain | cāich dodom | chela  
ni fil ee | nēl and nam | mā || acht mnā o | cus ingen | a ||

It is a land of delight beyond the thoughts of man, the land I mean :  
No race is there but women alone and maidens.

When Colla had listened to these lays he sprang into the coracle of glass and sailed away with the fairy : never more was he seen in Erin, and nobody knew whither he went.

This, however, is not the only fairy tale in which Irish metrical rhetorics occur : take, for instance, that of the Sick-bed of Cúchulainn, where we have, among others, the following *retoric*, in which Emer Cúchulainn's wife is represented coming to fetch him away from the fairy maiden Fand, whom Emer and the women of Ulster, with sharp knives in their hands, threatened in the following words, addressed to Lóig Cúchulainn's charioteer : *see* Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 222, 223 :—

Fēg a Lóig | dar theis oc | coistecht frit | filet mnā | cōri ciall | mathi ||  
coscēnaib | glasgēraib | ina n-des | lāmaib ||  
co n-ōr | fria n-ucht | brunnib | cruth cāin ||  
atchichi | ther amal | tecaît | lāith gaile | dar [a] cath | cairptiu |  
glē ro | sōi | gnē || Emer in | gen For | gaill ||

Then Cúchulaind tells Fand not to fear, and adds that he will protect her against the young women in all Ulster :—

Ni tagar | a ar Cū | chulaind | ocus ni | contora | eter |  
tair<sup>1</sup> isin | creit cumach | ta || lasin sui | di n-grían | da ||  
form dreich | sea fod | cōin || ardothes | arcaind | sea<sup>2</sup> ||  
ar andrib | ilib im | daib || hi cethar | aird Ul | ad ||  
ar cia nos | baigēa | ingen | Forcaill a | hucht a co | malta  
im gnīm | co cumach | ta || bēs ni | lim lama | thair ||

Cuchulaind next addresses Emer, his wife, and says that

<sup>1</sup> MS. *tairsiu*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *ardothesarcaibsea*.

he avoids her as a man would avoid an estranged friend,<sup>1</sup> that in fact he does not ward off the spear or knife wielded by her unsteady hand or her anger in any way, as what a woman could do would be of no avail against his might. These were "brave words" that gave Emer the chance of speaking to him direct, and winning him back, which she succeeded in doing promptly:—

Notsechnaim | sea a ben | amal | sechnas | cach [fer] a | charait |  
 Niru | bimsea do | gre crūaid | crithlámach |  
 Nach do | scian tim | thanai | di nach | t ferg treith tim | airethesch |  
 Ar is mór | dolig mo | nert || do scor | ō nirt | mnā ||

The story called Bricriu's Feast has a number of *retorics*, some of them somewhat longer than those which have been here cited, and many obscure in point of meaning or requiring important emendations in the text. I venture to cite the following as being fairly intelligible without many emendations: it represents Sencha calling the ladies of Ulster to order after Bricriu had kindled their jealousy of one another to a dangerous pitch. Sencha begins with a hexameter, followed by three pentameters: then comes another hexameter with two more pentameters and the first verse repeated as usual, as follows (Windisch, p. 267):—

Cotob | sechaim a | lāichessa | ana | aurdairce<sup>2</sup> | Ulad  
 anat for | m-briatra bāg | i || na banai | ter fergnū | si ||  
 iccruadaib | comraic | thib || tria ūal | le a | n-glond ||  
 ar is | tria chin | m-ban || bit fernai | fer dloch | tai ||  
 fir i | n-irgalaib | immad | mār galgat | comlud fer | glummi ||  
 ar is di | a m-brig | aib || bæsaib | is bēs<sup>3</sup> dō | ib ||  
 do furebat | nadice | at || insuidet | nadrair | get ||  
 Cotob | sechaim a | laicesa | ana | urdairci | Ulad.

<sup>1</sup> I supply *fer*, but another emendation is possible, such as to make *carait* 'friend' into *escarait* 'foe', which would give a somewhat different sense to the passage.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. has *ána aurdairce airegda Ulad*.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. has *bés*, not *is bés*.

Emer, singing the praises of her husband as against his rivals for the champion's portion, Conall and Loegaire, has the latter part of her utterance arranged as a *retoric*, consisting of a hexameter at the beginning, and another at the end, with three pentameters between, as follows (Windisch, p. 268):—

Ni faighis | tar fer and | connestar | a æs | a ās<sup>1</sup> a | anius. |  
 a guth a | gæs a chen | ēl. || a anius | a urlab | ra. ||  
 a āg a | gal a gais | ced. || a bruth a | būaid būadir | se ||<sup>2</sup>  
 a foraim | a fōmsig | e. || a dēni | a tharpig | e ||  
 a fian | choseur co | cles nōnbair | fri Coin | eulaind<sup>3</sup> com | chosmail |

The accentuation *com|chósmaíl* is to be noticed, but it does not stand alone, as we have already had *du|tháinai*, *cath|cáirptiu* and *ciall|máthi*, to which plenty more could be added: compare also such personal names as *Noonan* from *Inmhainen*, genitive of *Inmhainu*. One of the differences between these Irish rhetorics and the compositions corresponding to them in Welsh is the comparatively frequent Irish use of the curtailed hexameter of five feet, but not fitting into the scheme of the elegiac pentameter; and another is the rarer use in Irish of the half-pentameter. We have, however, had it, and it occurs, for instance, in the following lines closing one of the *retorics* put into Emer's mouth, which ends as follows (Windisch, p. 264):—

At crothle | garmanlin | e<sup>4</sup> || at būan | aind bodel | bæ ||  
 is ir | rechtaib | bo ocus dam | ocus ech | settai mnā | Ulad ||  
 uli co | nomthici | sea ||

They are *crotalia* fit for a flax weaver's beam (?), they are cow-shaped Buanams:  
 An Ulster woman's treasures take the form of cows, oxen and horses—  
 All of them until you come to me.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *a æs ocus a ás ocus a anius*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *a buadirse*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *fo choiculaind*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the reading of the Egerton MS.: the *Book of the Dun Cow*, 102<sup>b</sup>, has *garmíline*. Is it vain to expect Irish archaeology to



Here Emer seems to have been speaking of the higher civilization which she credited herself and her husband with having promoted in Ulster; for a few lines before she uses in the same sense words which resolve themselves likewise into a hexameter and a half-pentameter, referring probably to the *cumal* or female slave as a unit of value in ancient Erin, the *cumal* in fact at the time of her life when she was reckoned most profitable to her owner, as follows:—

Iss i richt | mnā siūil | sedda | Ulad | uli cor | rici ||  
mo chēle | se Coincu | laind ||

Ulster men's treasures take the form of a woman brought to bed—  
Until you come to him, my consort Cúchulainn. -

Trusting that the foregoing suggestions suffice to show the applicability of the key of the Latin metres, roughly speaking, to the Irish *retorics*, I may remark on the latter that, while they are not without alliteration, they are uncertain in the matter of rhyme, and sharply distinguished from the ordinary verses occurring in the same stories, verses characterized both by rhyme and alliteration. The latter kind was, perhaps, with the exception of the *deibhidhe*, of a native growth which held its own: the former was of a more recent introduction, and in the long run it came to nothing. In Wales, on the contrary, it luxuriated into our system of *mesurau caethion* or trammelled metres, and this would seem to have taken place to such an extent that our oldest Welsh manuscripts have preserved for us nothing in the *mesurau rhyddion* or free metres. Verse of the latter kind appears comparatively late in Welsh literature, but it can hardly be imagined

throw some light on these cow-shaped Buananns? See Cormac's *Glossary*, s.v., *Ána* and *Buanann*, also Brynmor-Jones and Rhys's *Welsh People*, pp. 42, 55.

that it came into existence late: the explanation probably is that it was banished to a position of obscurity to make room for the other, which succeeded in arrogating to itself the privileges and dignity of literature. This would, perhaps imply, that for a time there was a struggle between a Latin school and a native school, and we have possibly faint echoes of some such a struggle in some of the bitter allusions made by the old bards to a class of minstrels whom they accused of singing *cam vardoni* 'false poetry or incorrect verse'. See for instance the first poem of the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 108, 304), a manuscript notorious for interlarding the Welsh language with Latin words and phrases; see also the poem entitled *Bustl y Beird* "Gall to the Bards", which together with others printed in the *Myvyrian*, i, 19-28, is commonly ascribed to Taliessin, and incorporated in the late story called "Hanes Taliessin", published in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, iij, 330-49, 365-83. There we have what purports to be an account of the discomfiture of Heinin at the head of Maelgwn's bards by the boy-bard Taliessin. Those acquainted with recent Welsh literature are familiar with the feud between the partisans of the trammelled metres and those of the free metres: perhaps we may regard it as in a sense a revival of a far earlier quarrel.

Unlike the Irish *retoric*, the Welsh englyn, which may, roughly speaking, be set over against it, seldom occurs in our old stories: I can only recall a few occasions in point. One of them has already been mentioned, namely, where Gwydion sang three englyns to Llew Llawgyffes: see p. 137. A little earlier in the same *Mabinogi*, p. 67, one meets with another englyn which differs from those put into Gwydion's mouth, in having only three lines, and resembles them in giving those lines seven syllables each, neither

more nor less. It runs as follows, without one strong dactyl:

|                                         |                                             |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Tri méib   giluáethóy   énnóir.   (7)   | False Gilvaethwy's three sons<br>are these, |
| tri chen ryssédát   kýwir.    (7)       | Three honourable men in the<br>fray,        |
| bléidón. hý   dón. hýchdón   hír.   (7) | Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, Hychdwn<br>the Tall.      |

Another englyn occurs in the *Mabinogi of Branwen* (*Mab.*, p. 38), where Brân is described as about to be entertained, together with his host, in a vast and strong house in Ireland. Before that takes place his half-brother Evnissien walks in, and notices a bracket on either side of each of the hundred pillars of the building, and on each bracket a leather bag. He approached one of them and asked an Irishman what was in the bag, when he received the answer "Meal, my friend". He feels about until he finds a man's head in the bag: he squeezes it till his fingers penetrate the skull into the man's brain. In the other cases he asks the same question, obtains the same answer, and proceeds in the same deadly earnest until he has disposed of all the inmates of the bags except one: here he receives the same answer "Meal, my friend", but on feeling this, he found that it was a somewhat different kind of meal, for the man in this last bag was helmeted, being, as it would seem, the captain and leader of the others. When Evnissien had quietly done with him, he sang an englyn to the following effect<sup>1</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has the plurals *keimeit kynniuyeit disgynneit*, but the story as it stands requires the singular. If one retain the plural one has to suppose the two hundred to have had two officers in command of them, and not one. The englyn ends with *kytwyr cat baraót*, which I have shortened to *kytwyr baraót*: compare *ketwyr uolabe* in the *Red Book*, Skene, ij, 282. If *cat* is left standing the englyn will rank with those discussed at p. 123. It is not absolutely necessary to read 'n y for yn y or *amryrlaót* for the *amryb rlaót* of the MS., but the first line as it stands is rather stiff.

- Yssít 'n y | bóly hóm | amrývlaót | (8)      There is in this bag another meal :
- kéimat kyn | nívyat dis | kýnyat || (8)      A friend and helper alighting,
- yn trín rac | kýtwyr bá | raót<sup>1</sup>      (7)      In fight his ready comrades leading.

The next instance to be mentioned occurs in the Story of Kulhwch and Olwen (*Mab.*, p. 133) and is there ascribed to Arthur, who is represented singing it to Cai on the occasion of his bringing home the beard of a certain Dillus whom he had entrapped on Plynlimmon. Cai is said to have been so grievously offended by Arthur's fun that he never more took any part in his wars however hard pressed he might be. The englyn runs thus :—

- Kynllý | van a | óruc kéi. |      (7)      A dog-leash was made by Cai  
o uáryf | dillus uab | Éurei. ||      (7)      Of Dillus' beard, son of Efrai :  
Pei iách dy | ánghen uy | dei. || (7)      Well were he, thy death would he be.

In all four cases the englyns happen to have the hexameter bisected : *see* pages 107, 108. They seem to belong to an early version of the stories where we find them.

When the Celts took Latin metres as their models the quantitative element in Roman versification began to evaporate in their hands, and the result looks so much the less artistic ; but sooner or later the Celts introduced an art of their own, an elaborate system of rhyme and alliteration constituting what is in Welsh called *cynghanedd* or consonance. Thus the Latin frame, which has chiefly occupied us in these pages, was provided with new bonds of union, new muscles and sinews so to say, to knit the bones together. How early this took place it would be hard to

<sup>1</sup> Here the rhyming of the first line with the third reminds one of the Llanerfyl stone, with *Rostíce* rhyming with *pace*, supposing the latter word had been written in full as the author had doubtless intended when he began : *see* p. 91 above.

specify; but it cannot be an accident that the Llech Idris inscription shews what appears to have been intended as rhyme final and internal, as was pointed out at p. 120. This would seem to take us back to the sixth century, but repeated opportunities have offered themselves for pointing out that the metres had taken definite forms before they were subjected to strict rules as to rhyme and assonance, which have accordingly been here but sparingly discussed. This is all the less to be regretted as the Irish portion of the question has been treated in the *Grammatica Celtica*, and the Welsh one by the skilful hand of Professor J. Morris Jones in Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, iv, 106-142, in so far at any rate as concerns Welsh accentuation, rhyme and alliteration, or all that constitutes what Welshmen understand by the harmony to which allusion has just been made.<sup>1</sup> It is right to direct attention to another part of the enquiry on which, however, it is not here proposed to enter, and that is the steps by which the feet of the old Welsh metres led up to the rules observed in the construction of sixteenth century verse, the rules in fact which are still in force in our poetry: that remains a field for further scrutiny. But it has been shewn here and there in these pages how in the various metres in question the counting of syllables has taken the place of the scanning by feet or bars consisting of a fluctuating number of syllables. In other words, as regards the older poetry, the lesson to be remembered is, that it is mostly to be studied in feet or bars rather than in syllables.

<sup>1</sup> For suggestions from the point of view of the comparative and historical study of metric see Loth's "Vers à rime interne", an article published in the *Revue Celtique*, xx, 62-8, and representing details discussed in the second volume of that Celtic scholar's *Métrie galloise*.

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## xii. ELEGIAC FEATURES TRANSMITTED.

Lastly, whatever the channel was through which the literary Celts of this country derived their knowledge of Latin versification, and however unlike their models their own imitations may have been, it does not appear that they worked in a wholly mechanical way. At any rate it is very remarkable that one finds the englyn throughout bearing the stamp and impress of the elegiac couplet; and more especially is this palpable still in the pentameter part of it. I open a student's handbook to Latin verse and I read as follows, for instance, concerning the elegiac couplet:—"The metre itself was an offshoot of the heroic metre, framed (*a*) to avoid the monotony and the fluent roll of the Hexameter, and developed so as (*b*) to afford facilities for expressing the antitheses and emphatic repetitions of amatory and epigrammatic poems, for which heroics were less suited."<sup>1</sup> A little later in the same school book I read as follows:—"The Pentameter, as the base of the couplet, must be weighty: verbs will often have to be introduced, so as to make a complete clause; and the end of it must not be a weak word." All this and a good deal more might be cited as applying with striking precision to the two half-pentameters closing the principal kind of englyn in modern Welsh poetry. Every Welsh bard of the present day knows full well that the success of an englyn depends on what antithesis, pithiness or wit he can contrive to pack into those two brief lines. This applied also within the narrower limit of the old three-lined englyn with only a single half-pentameter. As an illustration may be cited a passage in the *Black Book* dialogue forming poem xxxiiij, where Gwyn ab Nûd, after mentioning

<sup>1</sup> This is quoted from Nixon and Smith's *Parallel Verse Extracts* (London, Macmillan, 1893), pp. lxviiij, lxix.



various memorable battles in which he had been present, sums it all up in the following pair of englyns (Evans, 49<sup>b</sup>) :

|                                            |                                               |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Mi awum lle llas milvir pridein.           | I have been where fell Prydain's<br>warriors  |
| or duyrein ir goglet.                      | From the orient to the north :                |
| Mi. wi. wiw. vintev. ym bet. <sup>1</sup>  | I am here, they in the grave.                 |
| Mi awum lle llas milguir bridein           | I have been where fell Prydain's<br>warriors, |
| or duyrein ir dehev.                       | From the orient to the south :                |
| Mi. wi. wiv. vintev yn aghev. <sup>1</sup> | I am here, they in death.                     |

We have already found that the scribe of the *Black Book* knew next to nothing about the metres of the poetry he copied ; and these two englyns further shew how slovenly he was in the matter of orthography—sometimes he transcribed his originals into his own spelling and sometimes he forgot to do so : thus we have here *milvir pridein* and *milguir bridein*. Now the points with which the two half-pentameters have been peppered are probably not quite accurately given ; but I can hardly suppose that he inserted them spontaneously : it is far more likely that he had most of them before him in a manuscript written by somebody who was fully alive to the staccato nature of the pentameter and its notation. Indeed so staccato is the last part of some of our englyns, that it is not always easy to give a faithful representation of the accent in writing. This may be said also, perhaps, of an Irish line like one of those just cited :—

Glê ro | sōi | gnê || Emer in | gen For | gaill ||

Clear the change of countenance  
in Emer, Forgall's daughter.

It is almost needless to quote illustrations from Latin itself, but take for instance the well-known contrast struck by Claudian between the man who stays at home at the

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has “y. bet” and “y aghev”.



centre of things in the Roman capital, and his neighbour who travels abroad :—

Plús hábet | híc ví|tæ || plús hábet | ille ví|æ ||

The one more life hath seen, the other more milestones.

The jostling of stress syllables tends to impede the movement, but the verse has the charm of playful antithesis, not to mention the sense of musical time which it may have wakened in an educated Roman, a quality replaced in Welsh by the *cynghaneŵ* or the chime of similar syllables, which differs wholly from the loose English idea of alliteration.

To take a modern instance or two, let me call attention to Ieuan Brydyŵ Hir's lines on seeing the ruins of Ifor Hael's court, especially the two following half-pentameters : see Silvan Evans's edition of his works (Carnarvon, 1876), p. 51 :—

|                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Drain ac ysgall mall a'i medd, | Thorns and evil thistles thrive, |
| Mïeri, lle bu mawredd.         | Brambles, where majesty reigned. |

Another of these englyns touches on the poet Ab Gwilym's grief at the death of his friend, the royal owner of that court, and points a melancholy contrast thus :—

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Y llwybran gynt lle bu'r gân | Paths once dear to song           |
| Yw lleoedd y ddylluan.       | Now of the hooting owl the haunt. |

Or take the following closing couplet of an englyn to a kiss, sung by one who only died a few years ago :—

|                                           |                                 |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Y nwyd emyn, nod amnerch,                 | Thrill-giving note of greeting, |
| Cais y mab, ac <sup>1</sup> eisiau merch. | Sought by him, wanted by her.   |

But to render such lines into English with any degree of

<sup>1</sup> See Eifionydd's collection, p. 151. This englyn is somewhat marred among other things by the author's having treated the grammarians' spelling of the conjunction as the real word, which has for centuries been *ag*, not *ac*, as a bard who had enjoyed leisure to study Medieval Welsh poetry would have doubtless known.

success requires a lighter, cunninger touch than mine, and as for the Prydyd Hir, for example, he has left an English version of his above-mentioned englyns on record to shew how unsuccessful he could be as his own translator. The Welsh are often challenged to render their poetry into English, and one would rejoice to see it done, but let us be interpreted by men who will not let the aroma of the original evaporate in the process.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 7. *Allt Kynetha*. For this name *see* the Survey of the Lordship of Kidwelly, made in 1609, and quoted by Mr. Edward Owen in the fifth volume of the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire (1895), pp. 647, 648, 650. It was "a mountayne called *Althkanatha* lying within the parishe of Kydwelly", and "one crosse att a place called *Althkanatha*" served to mark the boundary of the borough of Kidwelly. Previously (at p. 644) Mr. Owen had mentioned a resident of one of the estates belonging to the Monastery of Talley, in 1463, as bearing the name *Kenetha ap John*.

P. 12. For *ét* in the scanning read *et*.

P. 14. For *filius* in the scanning read *filîus*, and so on p. 21.

P. 19. With the remarks on *Ereilinci* should be read the footnote to p. 86.

P. 30. In the scanning read | prop'râvit | ; and in the last paragraph modify the guess as to date expressed, by a reference to the date of the Grutne Cross at p. 65.

P. 34. For Pan|lini | in the scanning read Pau|lîni | .

P. 37. For | mûlier re| read | mûlîer re|.

P. 41. For | cive(s) read | cîve(s).

P. 45. For | Idnerth | read | Îdnerth | .

P. 59. For Dobunnos and Enabarr read Dobunn and Enabarr, or else Dobunnos and Enabarros.

P. 64. Another meaning given to *aches* by the Welsh poets was that of water, tide or sea. This reminds me of a sentence quoted by Professor Kuno Meyer from the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 186<sup>a</sup>, to the effect that the Irish poets "thought that the place where poetry (*éicsi*) was revealed always was upon the brink of water": *see* Meyer and Strachan's *Ériu* (Dublin, 1904), p. 185. Had Burns no similar folklore in his mind when he wrote to his Ochiltree friend?—

"The Muse, nae poet ever fand her,  
Till by himsel' he learn'd to wander,  
Adown some trotting burn's meander."

To the reference, on the same page, to Zimmer's remarks on the prefixes *ad* and *ate*, add one to a somewhat different view suggested by Strachan in *Ériu*, p. 173.

P. 66. *Talorî* in the scanning has not been accented, as I am

uncertain where the stress should fall: most likely it should be Tálorj.

P. 73. Not to depart from the analogy of our other inscriptions, one had better treat *emereto* not as dative, but as standing for a nominative, namely, *emeretos*. Then construe provisionally thus, "The monument of Vitalianus: he was *emeritus*". To the footnote add a reference to the third edition of *Celtic Britain*, p. 256, where the distribution of Ogmie inscriptions in South Wales is summarized; and note more especially the group identified with Brecknock, that is, in part with the ancient realm of Brychan; for he is said to have been a descendant of Vortigern: see "The Life of St. Nennoca", in the *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. i, pp. 408, 409.

P. 76. Both lines of the Whithorn inscription should have been accented or else neither: see p. 78.

P. 86. For | iacit read | iacit.

P. 88. Line 9, for *finish-* read *finishing*.

P. 93. For TVWVLO read TVMVLO: the *umu* form a ligature.

P. 97. Compare a Tullylease cross which is given in Miss Stokes's *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, 54, plate 30, as reading: Xps: Quiennque hunc titulum legerit orat pro Berechtaire. This is supposed to date from the ninth century: ours is cruder work, but the similarity is striking.

P. 102. Manitius, in his *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter* (Gottingen 1893), has a chapter headed *Horaz in Deutschland saec. ix und x*, at the end of which he mentions various quotations from Horace dating from that period, and among them he refers, p. 33, to two from Ode iv, 7, and he adds that most of the quotations in point are to be found in the Paris *Florilegia* and in Vincent of Beauvais's collection: but the Celts of this country must have been acquainted with the Ode centuries earlier.

P. 114. In the footnote the word *paladr* has, owing to an oversight in re-arranging some of the pages, been used before its definition is given; for the latter see p. 139.

P. 120. Insert in the gap the heading: PENTAMETER ENGLYNS AND OTHER VARIANTS.

P. 124. The sentence ending in the middle of line 20 is too strong: it should read "with a scansion which could hardly be expected in the earlier portion of an englyn".

P. 132. As regards the phonetics of englyn 47, the more probable explanation is that the *l d* of *Eidal diessic* were pronounced *llt* or *lld*, for we do not distinguish between *llt* and *lld* any more than we do

between *st* and *sd*, or *cht* and *chd*, the dental not being perceptibly voiced in such a combination.

P. 147. In the scanning, for dúy read dúy.

P. 149. The Irish couplet was cited for its assonances, and I forgot to call attention to the ingenious combining in it of assonance and alliteration: *l-echt, f-echt f-ir*. This has been fixed in Welsh as what is called *cynghanedd sain* or 'sonant consonance', of which Robert Davies gives as an instance, *loc. cit.*, p. 146,

Gofal yn lle cynnal can  
"Worry instead of cherishing song."

And we have had an early instance in the case of the Grave Englyn No. 25, which begins thus (p. 110):—

Bet Alun Dywed. yn y drewred drav.

It is treated commonly as distinct from the *cynghanedd lusg* or 'trailing consonance'.

P. 155. The verses of three dactyls connected with those forming group 2 under the heading "Curtailed Hexameters" on pp. 70-74, should be added to the traces mentioned on pp. 124, 125, of scansion according to the reckoning in classical Latin. We should have an instance, on p. 41, in the line—

Cánti|óri | hic iác|it, &c.

But I am now disposed to think that for Celtic purposes such a scansion cannot stand: an alternative has in this instance been suggested. A similar case would seem at first sight to occur on p. 23, in the scansion—

Gúrugnín | filín | Cúgníd | Cíni, &c.

It is not certain, however, that the vocable forming the third foot was not here accented Cúgníd, but even if it was Cúgníd, as I am disposed to think, the accentual stress on that name would, according to Celtic rule, be less forcible than the stress on the defining word Cíni. In other terms the accentuation would approach that of a single word, Cúgnídcíni, with a tendency to a secondary accent on *cu*, which would go to neutralize the stress on *gníd*.

P. 176. As regards an educated Roman's sense of metrical quantity I have here and in sundry other places taken for granted, as I knew no better, that the Celts were unable to appreciate the quantitative element in classical Latin verse. It would probably be more correct to say that the Romans had lost the sense for that quantity before the Celts had a chance of learning from them. Quantitative rhythm was not indigenous to Latin, but introduced from Greek: *see* p. viij above. The fact, however, that for a while it conquered Latin prosody is evi-

dence that the pronunciation of Latin at the time of that conquest formed an environment not altogether uncongenial to it: at any rate that must have been so with Latin as pronounced by educated people in the capital. But in the course of time the language so changed that an educated Roman's pronunciation of it ceased to be a direct help to him to compose verse in the classical metres of Virgil and Horace. When he did it, and did it successfully, it was a feat of antiquarian knowledge and skill acquired by closely studying how those and other poets of the classical period had sung. This subject has been discussed with acumen and sound sense by Mr. Charlton M. Lewis in his thesis on *The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification* (Berlin, 1898).<sup>1</sup>

In the course of it the author shows by a reference (*loc. cit.*, pp. 7, 23) to a treatise on music, by St. Augustine (A.D. 395-430), that as early as the beginning of the fifth century "the difference between long and short syllables was no more practical to the average Roman than it is now to the average Englishman". Going back, however, to a time about the middle of the third century, he comes to a Christian poet named Commodianus,<sup>2</sup> who appears to have belonged to a transition period. He wrote with due regard to such distinctions of quantity as were made by Latin pronunciation in his time. Among other things "the quantity of accented syllables seems to have been appreciated by the unaided ear"; so for Commodianus "the central point of interest and attention in his rhythm was the thesis of the metrical foot", and there he was careful to be correct, while the length of syllables in arsis was a matter of comparative indifference to him and doubtless to those for whom he considered he was singing (*loc. cit.*, pp. 18, 20, 22). One of the results of this system of prosody was that the sixth foot of Commodianus's hexameters is found to be correct from the classical point of view, and also the end of the first hemistich which always closed with a cæsura in the third foot. This left the scanning of the line at times doubtful (*loc. cit.*, p. 23), somewhat as in the case of some of our instances both in the inscriptions

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<sup>1</sup> For calling my attention to Mr. Lewis's work I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Professor W. P. Ker. I am sorry that I did not know of it sooner, but perhaps it is as well that I should have tried my task without any lead from a specialist. Not the least useful portion of Mr. Lewis's work is the Bibliography with which he has furnished his researches.

<sup>2</sup> His poems form Volume xv of a *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, published (*ex recensione* B. Dombart) by the Vienna Academy, under the title of *Commodiani Carmina* (Vienna, 1887).

and in the englyn. But one of the things of interest to the Welsh reader is that Commodianus took care that in the thesis of the fifth foot he used a syllable which bore the stress accent: that is to say, the accentual run of the two last feet was  $\acute{\text{z}} - - | \acute{\text{z}} -$ , as also in the majority of our instances. Take, for example, his *Carmen Apologeticum*, a poem of some 1060 lines, of which the first line runs thus:—

Quis poterit unum proprie Deum | nósse coel|órum | .

Or take at random other lines, such as 828 and 973:—

Qui Petrum et Paulum prius pun|fuit in | úrbe | .

Neque gens ulla quidem poterit re|sistere | cóntra | .

Commodianus, it will be seen, has in the fifth foot what I have ventured to call the strong dactyl, but in some of our Celtic instances one seems to recognise the weaker dactyl -  $\acute{\text{z}} -$  with or without a deviation from the prevalent scanning of the sixth foot: see pp. 34, 35, 136, 137, 148. When or how this departure from the rule established by the majority of instances began, has been left an open question. Perhaps it may be reckoned as a sort of parallel to the inversion of the flat feet of the heptameter: the oldest instances we have of these last are—

fíljā | Pater|níni | , p. 91.

hómo | plánnus | fúit | , p. 93,

which give us the accentual sequence  $\acute{\text{z}} - | \acute{\text{z}} - | \acute{\text{z}} -$ , whereas we have iambic movement in an englyn, for instance of Ab Gwilym's. See page 138 above:—

Am ér|yr bró|yr húd :

Or take Simwnt Vychan's instance on page 139, where the inversion is less complete:—

y dék|af o | ddŷn býw | .

Compare also the suggestion at p. 115, that the flat feet are sometimes found superseded by a regular dactylic cadence. Much may be learnt generally on this metrical change from what Lewis has to say of the inversion of the trochaics in the Ambrosian hymns of Adam of St. Victor, and on the similar treatment of iambic lines



# INDEX TO PROPER NAMES IN THE ENGLYNS OF THE GRAVES.

*The references are to the numbers of the Englyns as they stand in the BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN. It is often difficult here to tell proper nouns from appellatives, so the more doubtful cases have been provided with a ? suggesting that query.*

|                 |            |                   |        |                    |        |
|-----------------|------------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| Aber Duwir Dyar | 54         | Camlan            | .. 12  | Cyhoret            | .. 71  |
| Abererch        | .. 13      | Kaer Kenedir      | .. 6   | Kynan              | .. 71  |
| Aber Gwenoli    | .. 7       | Karraue           | .. 7   |                    |        |
| Aelwyt Dinorben | 71         | Cav               | .. 1   | Daer Diarchar      |        |
| Airgwl          | .. 71      | Kein              | .. 51  | ? d. d.            | .. 53  |
| Alld Tryvan     | .. 12      | Kelvi, ? celfi    | .. 65  | Deheveint          | .. 58  |
| Alun Diwed, mab |            | Kelli Uriaual     | .. 39  | Dilan              | .. 4   |
| Meigen          | 24, 25     | Kemeis tir        | .. 66  | Dinorben           | .. 71  |
| Amhir, ? amhir  | 19         | Kenedir           | .. 6   | Diwed, Dived,      |        |
| Anoeth          | .. 30      | Keri              | .. 36  | Dywed, 24, 25, 71  |        |
| Arduduy, argel  | 26         | Keri cletifhir    | .. 5   | Diwinvin           | .. 59  |
| Aron m. Diwin-  |            | Certenhin         | .. 31  | Duwir Dyar         | .. 54  |
| vin             | .. 59      | Kerwid            | .. 1   | Dyar               | .. 54  |
| Arthan          | .. 34      | Kewin Kelvi       | .. 65  | Dyffrin gewel      | .. 26  |
| Arthur          | .. 44      | Kian, ? kian      | .. 41  | Dywel ab Erbin     | 27     |
|                 |            | Kindilie          | ... 41 |                    |        |
| Bedwir          | .. 12      | Kinhen, ? cynhen  | 21     | Ebediv am Mae-     |        |
| Beidauc rut, ab |            | Kinon, Kynon,     |        | hur                | .. 68  |
| Emer Llydan     |            | 8, 10, 11, 45, 65 |        | Edryvwy            | .. 50  |
|                 | 36, 37, 38 | Kinran, ? cynran  |        | Eidal              | 46, 47 |
| Beli mab Benlli | 73         |                   | 6, 42  | Eilunwy            | .. 50  |
| Benlli gawr     | .. 73      | Kintilan          | .. 15  | Einyaun ab Cun-    |        |
| Beuno           | .. 4       | Kinvael           | .. 65  | edda               | .. 72  |
| Bradwen         | .. 62      | Kinveli           | .. 65  | Eitew              | 46, 47 |
| Breint          | .. 56      | Kinvelin          | .. 57  | Eitivelh hir       | .. 34  |
| Briaual         | .. 39      | Kivrid            | .. 1   | Eiwonit            | .. 64  |
| Bricheinaue     | .. 23      | Cleveint awon     | .. 58  | Elchwith           | .. 45  |
| Brin Aren       | .. 4       | Clun Kein         | .. 51  | Elffin             | 42, 43 |
| Britu           | .. 36      | Clytuo Idin       | 9, 11  | Elissner           | .. 54  |
| Bruin           | .. 23      | Coel              | .. 57  | Elvit tir, ? e. t. | .. 64  |
| Bruyno hir      | .. 48      | Corbre            | .. 5   | Elvy               | .. 50  |
|                 |            | Corknud           | .. 41  | Emer Llydan        | .. 38  |
| Cacav           | .. 27      | Cunedda           | .. 72  | Epint              | .. 26  |

|                   |        |                  |        |                  |            |
|-------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|------------|
| Erbin             | 27, 31 | Hennin Henben    | 71     | Madauc vir       |            |
| Ergrid avon,      |        | Hirerv minit     | .. 67  | Vrien            | .. 21      |
| ? ergryd          | .. 10  | Hir vynyt        | .. 32  | Maelur           | .. 68      |
|                   |        | Hyvlyt           | .. 33  | Maenked          | .. 24      |
| Fyrmael           | .. 33  |                  |        | Maes Maur        | .. 73      |
|                   |        | Idin             | 9, 11  | Maes menetauc    | 45         |
| Garrwen, fem.     | .. 70  | Inis, yr         | .. 18  | Maluinauc        | .. 23      |
| Gewel, ? gefel    | .. 26  | Isel gwelitin    |        | March            | .. 44      |
| Guanas            | .. 28  | ? isel g.        | .. 9   | Mathauarn        | .. 58      |
| Guanas Guyr       | 29, 30 |                  |        | Meigen           | 25, 47     |
| Guernimbre        | .. 50  | Llachar llyv ni- |        | Meigen mab       |            |
| Gugaun cletyf-    |        | ver, 54, mab     |        | Rum              | 17, 18, 19 |
| rut               | .. 44  | Run              | .. 51  | Meilir           | .. 20      |
| Guindodit         | .. 28  | Llan benno       | .. 4   | Meilir Maluinauc | 23         |
| Guinionauc        | .. 20  | „ elvy           | .. 50  | Menetauc         | .. 25      |
| Gurgvaud, ? gurg. | 9      | „ helet          | .. 14  | Mor              | .. 20      |
| Gurgi             | .. 28  | „ Morvael        | .. 13  | Mor Maurhidic    | 6, 22      |
| Guriad            | .. 3   | „ Padarn         | .. 8   | Morial           | .. 2       |
| Gurien, Guryn     |        | Llaur llu ovit   | .. 28  | Morien           | .. 2       |
| 2, 3, 32          |        | Lledin, fem.     | .. 70  | Morvael          | .. 13      |
| Gurtheyrn Gur-    |        | Llemenic         | .. 50  | Mynwent Corbre   | 5          |
| thenen            | .. 40  | Llentir Guyn-    |        |                  |            |
| Guyn              | .. 21  | nassed           | .. 39  | Nant Turch       | .. 34      |
| Gwynnassed        | .. 39  | Llev llangyfes   | .. 35  | Ner              | .. 53      |
| Guyr              | .. 29  | Llewin           | .. 56  |                  |            |
| Guythuch urth     |        | Llia Gvitel      | .. 26  | Oeth ac Anoeth   | 30         |
| eruid             | .. 49  | Lliv             | .. 39  | Omni             | .. 36      |
| Guythur           | .. 44  | Lliwelit         | .. 32  | Ossvran          | .. 12      |
| Gverid, ? gweryd  | 67     | Lloegir          | .. 16  | Owein            | .. 14      |
| Gwalchmei         | .. 8   | Lluch llaueghin  | 30     | Owein ab Urien   | 13         |
| Gwallauc hir      | .. 7   | Lluoscar         | .. 36  |                  |            |
| Gwen              | .. 3   | Lluid lledneis   | .. 66  | Padarn           | .. 8       |
| Gwen ab Llyu-     |        | Lluitane         | .. 32  | Pant gwinn       | .. 20      |
| arch hen          | .. 16  | Llut             | .. 60  | Pedriual 63: see | 13         |
| Gwenmle           | .. 59  | Llychur          | .. 39  | Pedryal,         |            |
| Gwenoli,          |        | Llydan           | .. 38  | ? pedryal        | 13, 63     |
| ? gwenoli         | .. 7   | Llyuarch hen     | .. 16  | Pennant Turch    | 34         |
| Gwinllync         | .. 21  | Llyvnan          | .. 36  | Penwetic         | .. 22      |
| Gyrthnwl          | .. 39  | Llywy, fem.      | .. 70  | Peredur Penwe-   |            |
|                   |        |                  |        | tic              | .. 22      |
| Helet             | .. 14  | Mab Ossvran      | .. 12  | Peryton          | .. 8       |
| Hen egluis        | .. 5   | Machave          | 37, 38 | Pridein, Pry-    |            |
| Hennin            | .. 70  | Madauc           | 20, 63 | dein             | 39, 72     |

|                    |       |                   |        |               |        |
|--------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| Pryderi            | .. 7  | Ruvaun            | 42, 43 | Tavue         | .. 54  |
| Pyd, ? pyd         | .. 10 | Ryd Britu         | .. 36  | Tawlogeu ab   |        |
|                    |       | Ryddnant          | .. 61  | Llut          | .. 60  |
| Reon rid           | .. 10 |                   |        | Tedei[n] tad  |        |
| Riderch hael       | .. 13 | Saeson            | .. 31  | awen          | .. 4   |
| Rid vaen ked       | .. 24 | Sanauc, fem.      | .. 70  | Teulu Oeth ac |        |
| Rideu, y           | .. 55 | Seithennin        | .. 6   | Anoeth.       | .. 30  |
| Rigenew            | .. 55 | Siaun syberu      | .. 67  | Tir Gwennle   | .. 59  |
| Riogan             | .. 61 | Silit             | .. 50  | Tryvan        | .. 12  |
| Rit gynan          | .. 71 | Suyt Erbin        | .. 31  | Turch         | .. 34  |
| Riv lyvnav         | .. 36 |                   |        |               |        |
| Run 17, 18, 19, 51 |       | Talan Talyrth.    | .. 52  | Uchel tytin   |        |
| Run ab Alun        |       | Tarv torment      |        | ? uchel t.    | .. 9   |
| Diwed              | .. 24 | ? tarv trin       | .. 5   | Urien         | 13, 21 |
| Run mab pyd        | .. 10 | Tarv trin, ? tarv |        |               |        |
| Run ryvel aswy     | 70    | trin              | .. 69  | Ystyruacheu   | .. 40  |





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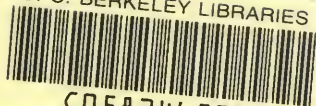
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